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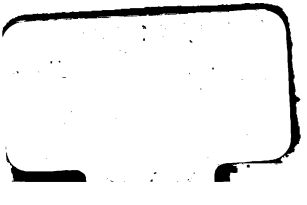

to face the Title

Quid doctæ ingenio, quid prosint moribus Artes
Vivâ voce priùs, dein calamo exposui.
Mox veterum admirati populorũ exempla Quirites
Dum sequor, inceptum mors mihi rupit opus.
Omnes Religio accendit pietasque labores.
Quam petii merces sit mihi magna Deus.
D. Grevius.

Impensis T. & P. Knapton Londini 1754. *G. Vertue Sculp.*

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. I.

THE NINTH EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

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By Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch-Street.

M.DCCC.

APPROBATION.

Paris, 3 *Sept.* 1729.

I HAVE read, by order of the Lord-keeper, a manuſcript entitled, *The Ancient Hiſtory of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, Macedonians, and Greeks*, &c. In this work appears the ſame principles of religion, of probity, and the ſame happy endeavours to improve the minds of youth, which are ſo conſpicuous in all the writings of this author. The preſent work is not confined merely to the inſtruction of young people, but may be of ſervice to all perſons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading, in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

SECOUSSE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Proprietors of this edition of *Rollin's Ancient History* beg leave to inform the public, that the original was publiſhed by the author at different times; which rendered it neceſſary for him to write a particular preface or introduction to each publication: but the whole being now completed, the editors have combined all his detached introductions into one, omitting only ſuch paſſages as were either ſuperfluous or redundant, in a collected view.

A LETTER, written by the Right Reverend Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Mr. ROLLIN, in Commendation of this Work.

Reverende atque Eruditiſſime Vir,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta ædes tuas habitat, ſcirem te Pariſios revertiſſe; ſtatui ſalutatum te ire, ut primùm per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatum, cûm tandem me impleturum ſperarem, fruſtra fui; domi non eras. Reſtat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, ſcriptis ſaltem literis præſtem; tibique ob ea omnia, quibus à te auctus ſum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certe, & ſemper habiturus ſum, maximas.

Reverà munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum egregia hac perhonorifica mihi viſa ſunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præſtantiſſime, et tua omnia quæcunque in iſto literarum genere perpolita ſunt; in quo quidem Te cæteris omnibus ejuſmodi ſcriptoribus facilè antecellere, atque eſſe eundem et dicendi et ſentiendi magiſtrum optimum, prorsùs exiſtimo: cúmque in excolendis his ſtudiis aliquantulum ipſe et operæ et temporis poſuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum eſſe à te, non ſolùm quæ neſciebam prorsùs, ſed etiam quæ antea didiciſſe mihi viſus ſum. Modeſtè itaque nimium de opere tuo ſentis, cum juventuti tantùm inſtituendæ elaboratum id eſſe contendis. Ea certè ſcribis, quæ à viris iſtiuſmodi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate et fructu legi poſſunt. Vetera quidem, et ſatis cognita revocas in memoriam; ſed ita revocas, ut illuſtres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetuſtis adjicias quod novum ſit, alienis quod omnino tuum: bonaſque picturas bonâ in luce collocando efficis, ut etiam iis, à quibus ſæpiſſimè conſpectæ ſunt, elegantiores tamen ſolitò appareant, et placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem ſæpiùs verſas, ab illo et ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, et ipſum ubique narrandi modum videris traxiſſe, ſtylique Xenophontei nitorem ac venuſtam ſimplicitatem non imitari tantùm, ſed planè aſſequi: ita ut ſi Gallicè ſciſſet Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis uſurum, non alio prorsùs more ſcripturum judicem.

Hæc ego, haud aſſentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abeſt) ſed verè ex animi ſententiâ dico. Cùm enim pulchris à te donis ditatus ſim, quibus in eodem, aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me ſentio, volui tamen propenſi erga te animi gratique teſtimonium proferre, et te aliquo ſaltem munuſculo, etſi perquam diſſimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ paſſim et ſpretæ jacent, benè mereri: perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi ſolummodo te utilem eſſe vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis ætatis tuæ elapſis multos adjiciat Deus! iſque decurrentibus ſanum te præſtat atque incolumen. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet

Tui obſervantiſſimus

FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pranſurum te mecum poſt feſta dixit mihi amicus ille noſter qui tibi vicinus eſt. Cùm ſtatueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi ſignificabis. Me certè annis maliſque debilitatum, quandocunque veneris, domi invenies.

6° *Kal. Jan.* 1731.

A LETTER,

A LETTER, written by the Right Reverend Dr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, late Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Mr. ROLLIN, in Commendation of this Work.

Reverend and moſt Learned Sir,

WHEN I was informed by a friend, who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I reſolved to wait on you, as ſoon as my health would admit. After having been prevented by the gout for ſome time, I was in hopes, at length of paying my reſpects to you at your houſe, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to do that in writing, which I could not in perſon, and to return you my acknowledgments for all the favours you have been pleaſed to confer upon me, of which, I beg you will be aſſured that I ſhall always retain the moſt grateful ſenſe.

And, indeed, I eſteem the books you have lately publiſhed, as preſents of exceeding value, and ſuch as do me very great honour. For I have the higheſt regard, moſt excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing that comes from ſo maſterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning you treat; in which I muſt believe that you not only excel all other writers, but are, at the ſame time, the beſt maſter of ſpeaking and thinking well; and I freely confeſs that, though I had applied ſome time and pains in cultivating theſe ſtudies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I was inſtructed in things by you, of which I was not only entirely ignorant, but ſeemed to myſelf to have learned before. You have, therefore, too modeſt an opinion of your work, when you declare it compoſed ſolely for the inſtruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleaſure and improvement by perſons not unacquainted in learning of the ſame kind. For whilſt you call to mind ancient facts and things ſufficiently known, you do it in ſuch a manner, that you illuſtrate, you embelliſh

liſh them; ſtill adding ſomething new to the old, ſomething entirely your own to the labours of others: by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unuſual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to thoſe who have ſeen and ſtudied them moſt.

In your frequent correſpondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very manner of relating; you ſeem not only to have imitated but attained the ſhining elegance and beautiful ſimplicity of that author's ſtyle: ſo that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have uſed no other words, nor written in any other method, upon the ſubject you treat, than you have done.

I do not ſay this out of flattery (which is far from being my vice) but from my real ſenſe and opinion. As you have enriched me with your fine preſents, which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the ſame, or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to teſtify my gratitude and affection for you, and at leaſt to make you ſome ſmall, though exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, moſt learned and venerable Sir, to deſerve well of ſound literature, which now lies univerſally neglected and deſpiſed. Go on, in forming the youth of France (ſince you will have their utility to be your ſole view) upon the beſt precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it pleaſe God to add many years to your life, and during the courſe of them to preſerve you in health and ſafety. This is the earneſt wiſh and prayer of

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

FRANCIS ROFFEN.

P. S. Our friend, your neighbour, tells me, you intend to dine with me after the holidays. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleaſed to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will be ſure to find one, ſo weak with age and ills as I am, at home.

December 26, 1731.

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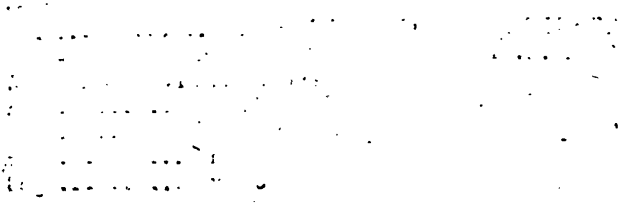

PREFACE.

The Utility of Profane Hiſtory, eſpecially with regard to Religion.

THE ſtudy of profane hiſtory would be unworthy of a ſerious attention, and of a conſiderable length of time, if it were confined to the dry knowledge of ancient tranſactions, and an unpleaſing enquiry into the æras when each of them happened. It little concerns us to know, that there was once ſuch men as Alexander, Cæſar, Ariſtides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Aſſyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Perſians, who were themſelves ſubjected by the Macedonians, as theſe were afterwards by the Romans. But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods thoſe empires were founded; the ſteps by which they roſe to the exalted pitch of grandeur we ſo much admire; what it was that conſtituted their true glory and felicity, and what were the cauſes of their declenſion and fall.

It is of no leſs importance to ſtudy attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and cuſtoms; and eſpecially to acquaint ourſelves with the character and diſpoſition, the talents, virtues, and even vices of thoſe men by whom they were governed; and whoſe good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the ſtates over which they preſided.

Such are the great objects which ancient hiſtory preſents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and, at the ſame time all the great men who are any ways conſpicuous; thereby inſtructing us, by example rather than precept, in the

arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil ſociety, and the conduct of life that ſuits all ages and conditions.

We acquire at the ſame time, another knowledge which cannot but excite the attention of all perſons who have a taſte and inclination for polite learning; I mean, the manner in which arts and ſciences were invented, cultivated, and improved; we there diſcover and trace, as it were with the eye, their origin and progreſs; and perceive with admiration, that the nearer we approach thoſe countries which were once inhabited by the ſons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and ſciences; and that they ſeem to be either neglected or forgot, in proportion to the remoteneſs of nations from them; ſo that, when men attempted to revive thoſe arts and ſciences, they were obliged to go back to the ſource from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a tranſient view of theſe objects, though ſo very important, in this place, becauſe I have already treated them with ſome extent elſewhere*.

But another object, of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane hiſtory treats only of nations who had imbibed all the chimeras of a ſuperſtitious worſhip; and abandoned themſelves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the firſt man, became capable; it nevertheleſs proclaims univerſally the greatneſs of the Almighty, his power, his juſtice, and above all, the admirable wiſdom with which his providence governs the univerſe.

If the † inherent conviction of this laſt truth raiſed according to Cicero's obſervation, the Romans above all other nations; we may in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives hiſtory a greater ſuperiority to many other

* Vol. III. and IV. of the Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres, &c.

† *Pietate ac religione, atque hac una ſapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus.* Orat. de Aruſ. reſp. n. 19.

branches

branches of literature, than to ſee in a manner imprinted, in almoſt every page of it, the precious footſteps and ſhining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God diſpoſes all events as ſupreme lord and ſovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires; and that he, for reaſons inſcrutable to all but himſelf, transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another.

We diſcover this important truth in going back to the moſt remote antiquity, and the origin of profane hiſtory; I mean, to the diſperſion of the poſterity of Noah into the ſeveral countries of the earth where they ſettled. Liberty, chance, views of intereſt, a love for certain countries, and ſuch like motives, were, in outward appearance, the only cauſes of the different choice which men made in theſe various migrations. But the ſcriptures inform us, that amidſt the trouble and confuſion that followed the ſudden change in the language of Noah's deſcendants, God preſided inviſibly over all their counſels and deliberations; that nothing was tranſacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he only guided * and ſettled all mankind agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and juſtice. "The Lord ſcattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth."

We muſt therefore conſider as an indiſputable principle, and as the baſis and foundation to the ſtudy of profane hiſtory, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the eſtabliſhment, duration, and deſtruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole univerſe, known only to God, who conſtitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its ſeveral parts; as particularly with reſpect to the people of Iſrael, and ſtill

* Gen. xi. 8, 9.

* The ancients themſelves, according to Pindar *(Olymp. Od.* vii.) retained ſome idea, that the diſperſion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been ſettled in different countries by the appointment of providence.

more with regard to the Meſſiah, and the eſtabliſhment of the church, which is his great work, the end and deſign of all his other works, and ever preſent to his ſight: [c] *Notum à ſeculo eſt Domino opus ſuum.*

God has vouchſafed to diſcover to us in holy ſcripture, a part of the relation of the ſeveral nations of the earth to his own people; and the little ſo diſcovered, diffuſes great light over the hiſtory of thoſe nations, of whom we ſhall have but a very imperfect idea, unleſs we have recourſe to the inſpired writers. They alone diſplay, and bring to light, the ſecret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their fooliſh pride, their impious and cruel ambition: they reveal the true cauſes and hidden ſprings of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declenſion of nations; the riſe and ruin of ſtates; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and conſequently, what idea we ourſelves ought to entertain of them.

As God appointed ſome princes to be the inſtruments of his vengeance, he made others the diſpenſers of his goodneſs. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to ſupport with dignity ſo glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which conſtitute the greateſt captains and princes; and cauſed that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens ſo much admired, though they neither knew the author nor true cauſe of it.

We ſee in profane hiſtory the extent and ſwiftneſs of his conqueſts, the intrepidity of his courage, the wiſdom of his views and deſigns; his greatneſs of ſoul, his noble generoſity; his truly paternal affection for his ſubjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderneſs, which made them conſider him rather as their protector and father, than their lord and ſovereign. We find, I ſay, all theſe particulars in profane hiſtory; but we do not perceive the ſecret principle of ſo many exalted qualities nor the hidden ſpring which ſet them in motion.

But Iſaiah affords us this light, and delivers himſelf

[c] Acts xv. 18.

in

in words ſuitable to the greatneſs and majeſty of the God who inſpired him. He * repreſents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; "ſubduing nations before him, looſening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of braſs, cutting in ſunder the bars of iron," throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in poſſeſſion "of the treaſures of darkneſs, and the hidden riches of ſecret places."

[s] The prophet alſo tells us the cauſe and motive of all theſe wonderful events. It was in order to puniſh Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, ſtep by ſtep, and gives ſucceſs to all his enterpriſes. "[r] I have raiſed him up in righteouſneſs, and I will direct all his ways.—For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael mine elect." But this prince is ſo blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his maſter, nor remember his benefactor. "[s] I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me,—I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me."

Men ſeldom form to themſelves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties eſſential to regal power. The ſcripture only gives us a full idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, [t] under the image of a very large and ſtrong tree, whoſe top reaches to heaven, and whoſe branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it conſtitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It ſupplies a

[s] Iſa. xlv. 13, 14. [r] Iſa. xlv. 13, 4.
[a] Chap. xlv. 4, 5. [t] Dan. iv. 7, 9.

* Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations before him; and I will looſe the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut.

I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtraight; I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron.

And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael.—*Iſa.* xlv. 1—3.

grateful

grateful ſhade, and a ſecure retreat to beaſts of every kind: animals, both wild and tame, are ſafely lodged under its hoſpitable branches; the birds of heaven dwell in the boughs of it, and it ſupplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more juſt or more inſtructive idea of the kingly office, whoſe true grandeur and ſolid glory does not conſiſt in that ſplendour, pomp, and magnificence which ſurround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by ſubjects; but in the real ſervices and ſolid advantages it procures to nations, whoſe ſupport, defence, ſecurity, and aſylum it forms (both from its nature and inſtitution) at the ſame time that it is the fruitful ſource of terreſtrial bleſſings of every kind; eſpecially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the ſhade and protection of royalty, a ſweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or diſturbed; whilſt the monarch himſelf ſacrifices his eaſe, and experiences alone thoſe ſtorms and tempeſts from which he ſhelters all others?

Methinks the reality of this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) appears in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenephon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the hiſtory of that prince. He has there ſpecified a great number of nations, which, though far diſtant one from another, and differing widely in their manners, cuſtoms, and language, were however all united, by the ſame ſentiments of eſteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whoſe government they wiſhed, if poſſible, to have continued for ever, ſo much happineſs and tranquillity did they enjoy under it *.

To this amiable and ſalutary government, let us oppoſe the idea which the ſacred writings give us of thoſe monarchs and conquerors ſo much boaſted by antiquity, who, inſtead of making the happineſs of mankind the ſole object of their care, were prompted

Εδυνηθη ἐπιθυμιαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαυτην τῶ παντας αὐτῷ χαριζεσθαι, ὥςε αει τῇ αὐτῳ γνωμῃ ἀξιῶν κυβερνᾶσθαι.

by

by no other motives than thoſe of intereſt and ambition. "The holy ſpirit repreſents them under the ſymbols of monſters generated from the agitation of the ſea, from the tumult, confuſion and daſhing of the waves one againſt the other; and under the image of cruel wild beaſts, which ſpread terrour and deſolation univerſally, and are for ever gorging themſelves with blood and ſlaughter. How ſtrong and expreſſive is this colouring!

Nevertheleſs, it is often from ſuch deſtructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally beſtowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is theſe ravagers of nations, theſe ſcourgers of mankind, they propoſe to make them reſemble. By inſpiring them with the ſentiments of a boundleſs ambition, and the love of falſe glory, they become (to borrow an expreſſion from ſcripture) "young lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waſte cities, to turn lands and their fatneſs and deſolation by the noiſe of their roaring." And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noiſe of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terrour and deſolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, and which are extracted from the hiſtory of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Perſians, prove ſufficiently the ſupreme power exerciſed by God over all empires; and the relation he thought fit to eſtabliſh between the reſt of the nations of the earth, and his own peculiar people. The ſame truth appears as conſpicuouſly under the kings of Syria and Egypt, ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great: between whoſe hiſtory, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the cloſe connexion.

To theſe incidents I cannot forbear adding another, which, though univerſally known, is not therefore the leſs remarkable; I mean the taking of Jeruſalem by

[a] Dan. vii. [b] Ezek. xix. 3, 7.

Titus,

Titus. [y] When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel, and, in a rapture of admiration cried out, "It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers, since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it."

Besides the visible and sensible connexion of sacred and profane history, there is another more sacred and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from far, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to show the necessity there was of our having a mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; and that neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel their clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God, it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation by the Almighty fiat. "[z] The earth was *without form and void.*" This is saying but little: it was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens) and appeared, to God, only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. [a] The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.

Nevertheless the sovereign arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom, dispenses

[y] Joseph. l. iii. c. 46. [z] Gen. i. 2. [a] Chap. vi. 11.

both

both light and darkneſs, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human paſſions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmoſt corruptions, to degenerate into abſolute barbarity, and brutalize themſelves in a manner, by the extinction of the firſt principles of the law of nature, as is ſeen in ſeveral ſavage nations. Such an obſtacle would have retarded too much the rapid courſe promiſed by him to the firſt preachers of the doctrine of his ſon.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of ſeveral great truths, to diſpoſe them for the reception of others of a more important nature. He prepared them for the inſtructions of the goſpel, by thoſe of philoſophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen profeſſors to examine, in their ſchools, ſeveral queſtions, and eſtabliſh ſeveral principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the ſpirit and beauty of their diſputations. It is well known, that the philoſophers inculcate in every part of their writings, the exiſtence of a God, the neceſſity of a Providence that preſides in the government of the world, the immortality of the ſoul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and puniſhment of the wicked, the nature of thoſe duties which conſtitute the band of ſociety, the character of the virtues that are the baſis of morality, as prudence, juſtice, fortitude, temperance, and ſuch like truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteouſneſs, yet they were of uſe to ſcatter certain clouds, and to diſpel certain obſcurities.

It is by an effect of the ſame providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the goſpel, that, when the Meſſiah revealed himſelf in the fleſh, God had united together a great number of nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had ſubjected to one monarch, from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free courſe to the preaching of the apoſtles. When profane hiſtory is ſtudied with judgment and maturity, it muſt lead us to

theſe reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth ſubſervient to the reign of his ſon.

It ought likewiſe to teach us the value of all that glitters moſt in the eye of the world, and is moſt capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, ſkill in government, profound policy, merit in magiſtracy, capacity for the moſt abſtruſe ſciences, beauty of genius, univerſal taſte, and perfection in all arts: theſe are the objects which profane hiſtory exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the ſame time this very hiſtory ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever ſince the creation, has indulged to his enemies all thoſe ſhining qualities which the world eſteems, and on which it frequently beſtows the higheſt eulogiums; and, on the contrary, that he often refuſes them to his moſt faithful ſervants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely ſuperior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are deſirous of them. "[b] Happy is that people that is in ſuch a caſe: yea, happy is that people, whoſe God is the Lord."

I ſhall conclude this firſt part of my preface with a reflection which reſults naturally from what has been ſaid. Since it is certain, that all theſe great men, who are ſo much boaſted of in profane hiſtory, were ſo unhappy as not to know the true God, and to diſpleaſe him; we ſhould therefore be particularly careful not to extol them too much. *St. Auſtin, in his Retractions, repents his having laviſhed ſo many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philoſophy; becauſe theſe, ſays he, were impious men, whoſe doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jeſus Chriſt.

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Auſtin ſuppoſes it to be unlawful for us to admire and peruſe

[b] Pſal. cxliv. 15.

* *Laus ipſa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos ſeu academicos philoſophos tantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi diſplicuit; præſertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda eſt Chriſtiana doctrina.* Retract. l. i. c. 1.

whatever

whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims of the heathens. He* only adviſes us to correct all ſuch things as are faulty, and to approve whatever is conformable to the right and the juſt in them. He applauds the Romans on many occaſions, and particularly in his books [c] *De civitate Dei*, which is one of the laſt and fineſt of his works. He there ſhows that the Almighty raiſed them to be victorious over nations, and ſovereigns of a great part of the earth, becauſe of the gentleneſs and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the commonwealth:) thus beſtowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the ſame kind with which that people, though very judicious in other reſpects, were ſo happy to content themſelves. St. Auſtin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are beſtowed on the heathens, but only the exceſs of them.

Students ought to take care, and eſpecially we, who by the duties of our profeſſion are obliged to be perpetually converſant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the ſpirit of them; not to imbibe unperceived their ſentiments, by laviſhing too great applauſes on their heroes; nor to give into exceſſes which the heathens indeed did not conſider as ſuch, becauſe they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some perſons, whoſe friendſhip I eſteem as I ought, and for whoſe learning and judgment I have the higheſt regard, have found this defect in ſome part of my work, on the *Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres*, &c. and are of opinion that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums I beſtow on the illuſtrious men of antiquity. I indeed own, that the expreſſions on thoſe occaſions are ſometimes too ſtrong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had ſupplied a proper corrective to this by the hints with which I have interſperſed thoſe four volumes; and therefore, that it would be only loſing time to repeat them; not to mention my having

* *Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum eſt; quod autem rectum eſt approbandum.* De Bapt. con. Donat. l. vii. c. 16.

[c] Lib. v. cap. 19, 21, &c.

laid

laid down, in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church eſtabliſh on this head, in declaring with St. Auſtin, that without true piety, that is, without a ſincere worſhip of God there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be ſuch, whoſe object is worldly glory; a truth ſays this father, acknowledged univerſally by thoſe who are inſpired with real and ſolid piety. [d] *Illud conſtat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem ſine vera pietate, id eſt Dei vero cultu, veram poſſe habere virtutem; nec eam veram eſſe, quando gloriæ ſervet humanæ.*

[e] When I obſerved that Perſeus had not reſolution enough to kill himſelf, I did not thereby pretend to juſtify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon ſuicide as lawful; but ſimply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius paſſed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two againſt that cuſtom, it would have obviated all miſtake, and left no room for cenſure.

The oſtraciſm, employed at Athens againſt perſons of the greateſt merit; theft connived at, as one would imagine, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality with regard to poſſeſſions eſtabliſhed in the ſame city, by the authority of the ſtate, and things of a like nature, may admit of ſome difficulty. However I ſhall have a more immediate attention to theſe * particulars, when the courſe of the hiſtory brings me to them; and ſhall be proud of receiving ſuch lights as the learned and unprejudiced may pleaſe to communicate.

In a work like that I now offer the publick, intended more immediately for the inſtruction of youth, it were heartily to be wiſhed, there might not be one ſingle thought or expreſſion that could contribute to inculcate falſe or dangerous principles. When I firſt ſet about writing the preſent hiſtory, I propoſed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always obſerved

[d] *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. iii. c. 19. [e] Vol. VI. p. 385.

* This Mr. Rollin has done admirably in the ſeveral volumes of his Ancient Hiſtory.

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it, though it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for the instruction of youth, and for persons who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not crowd this work with a sort of erudition, that otherwise might have been introduced naturally into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining, with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I wish it were possible for me to avoid the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and at the same time the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes: and although, in the two parts of history of which this first volume consists, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long: but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the publick shall be my guide, to which I shall endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was happy so as not to displease the publick in my first* attempt. I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it, from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful; affecting, delicate, and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves, which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and

* The Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. The English translation (in four volumes) of this excellent piece of criticism has gone through several editions.

besides,

beſides, the variety of the ſubjects ſupplied the want of thoſe graces which might be expected from the ſtyle and compoſition.

But I have not the ſame advantage in the preſent work, the choice of the ſubjects not being entirely at my diſcretion. In a ſeries of hiſtory, an author is often obliged to introduce a great many things that are not always very affecting and agreeable, eſpecially with regard to the origin and riſe of empires; which parts are generally over-run with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the ſequel furniſhes matter of a more pleaſing nature, and events that engage more ſtrongly the reader's attention; and I ſhall take care to make uſe of whatever is moſt valuable in the beſt authors. In the mean time, I muſt entreat the reader to remember, that in a wide-extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harveſts, ſmiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but ſees, at different intervals, wild and leſs cultivated tracts of land. And to uſe another compariſon after *Pliny, ſome trees in the ſpring emulouſly ſhoot forth a numberleſs multitude of bloſſoms, which by this rich dreſs (the ſplendour and vivacity of whoſe colours charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced ſeaſon: whilſt other †trees, of a leſs gay and florid kind, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of bloſſoms, nor ſeem to ſhare in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will eaſily apply this image to the compoſition of hiſtory.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be ſo ingenuous as to confeſs, that I do not ſcruple, nor am aſhamed, to riffle wherever I come; and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I tranſcribe, becauſe of the liberty

* *Arborum flos, eſt pleni veris indicium; & anni renaſcentis flos gaudium arborum. Tunc ſe novas aliaſque quam ſunt, oſtendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen uſque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes florent & ſunt triſtes quædam, quæque non ſentiant gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exhilarantur, nataleſve pomorum recurſus annuos verſicolari nuncio promittunt.* PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. xvi. c. 25.

† As the fig-trees.

I take

I take to make ſome ſlight alterations. I have made the beſt uſe in my power of the ſolid reflections that occur in the ſecond and third parts of the Biſhop of * Maux's *Univerſal Hiſtory*, which is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt uſeful books in our language. I have alſo received great aſſiſtance from the learned Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Teſtament*, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient hiſtory. I ſhall take the ſame liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may ſuit my deſign, and contribute to its perfection.

I am very ſenſible, that it is not ſo much for a perſon's reputation to make uſe of other men's labours, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over fond of that title; and ſhall be extremely well pleaſed, and think myſelf very happy, if I can but deſerve the name of a good compiler, and ſupply my readers with a tolerable hiſtory, who will not be over ſolicitous to enquire what hand it comes from, provided they are but pleaſed with it.

Students, with a very moderate application, may eaſily go through this courſe of hiſtory in a year, without interrupting their other ſtudies. According to my plan, my work ſhould be given to the higheſt form but one. Youths in this claſs are capable of pleaſure and improvement from this hiſtory; and I would not have them go upon that of the Romans, till they ſtudy rhetorick.

It would have been uſeful, and even neceſſary, to have given ſome idea of the ancient authors from whence I have extracted the following materials. But the courſe itſelf of the hiſtory will ſhew this, and naturally give me an opportunity of producing them.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to take notice of the ſuperſtitious credulity objected to moſt of theſe authors, with regard to auguries, auſpices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles, and, indeed, we are ſhocked to

* Mopſ. Boſſuet.

ſee

ſee writers ſo judicious in all other reſpects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate theſe particulars with a ſcrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of low, ridiculous ceremonies, ſuch as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, ſigns diſcovered in the ſmoaking entrails of beaſts, the greater or leſs greedineſs of chickens in pecking corn, and a thouſand ſuch abſurdities.

It muſt be confeſſed that a reader of judgment cannot, without aſtoniſhment, ſee the moſt illuſtrious perſons among the ancients for wiſdom and knowledge; generals who were the leaſt able to be influenced by popular opinions, and moſt ſenſible how neceſſary it is to take advantage of auſpicious moments; the wiſeſt counſels of princes perfectly well ſkilled in the arts of government; the moſt auguſt aſſemblies of grave ſenators; in a word, the moſt powerful and moſt learned nations in all ages: to ſee, I ſay, all theſe ſo unaccountably weak as to make the deciſion of the greateſt affairs, ſuch as the declaring war, the giving battle, or purſuing a victory, depend on the trifling practices and cuſtoms above mentioned; deliberations that were of the utmoſt importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the ſame time, we muſt be ſo juſt as to own, that their manners, cuſtoms, and laws, would not permit men in theſe ages to diſpenſe with the obſervation of theſe practices: that education, hereditary tradition tranſmitted from immemorial time, the univerſal belief and conſent of different nations, the precepts and even examples of philoſophers; that all theſe, I ſay, made the practices in queſtion appear venerable in their eyes: and that theſe ceremonies, how abſurd ſoever they may appear to us, and are really ſo in themſelves, conſtituted part of the religion and publick worſhip of the ancients.

This was a falſe religion, and a miſtaken worſhip; and yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the ſtream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure.

pure. Man, when abandoned to his own ideas, ſees nothing beyond the preſent moment. Futurity is to him an abyſs inviſible to the moſt eagle-eyed, the moſt piercing ſagacity, and exhibits nothing, on which he may fix his views, or form any reſolution with certainty. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his deſigns. He is ſenſible, that he is dependent entirely on a ſupreme power, that diſpoſes all events with abſolute authority, and which in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, and of the wiſdom of the beſt-concerted ſchemes, by only raiſing the ſmalleſt obſtacles and ſlighteſt modifications, renders it impoſſible for him to execute his meaſures.

This obſcurity and weakneſs oblige him to have recourſe to a ſuperior knowledge and power: he is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the ſtrong deſire he has to ſucceed in all his undertakings, to addreſs that Being, whom he is ſenſible has reſerved to himſelf alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of diſpoſing it as he ſees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers ſacrifices, to prevail, if poſſible, with the Deity, to reveal himſelf, either in dreams, in oracles, or other ſigns which may manifeſt his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment; and that it is a man's greateſt intereſt to know this ſupreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of the Supreme Being, is natural to man: it is for ever imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it, by the inward ſenſe of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which ſurround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourſe to the Deity, is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the ſtrongeſt band by which man is united to his creator.

Thoſe who were ſo happy as to know the true God, and were choſen to be his peculiar people, never failed to addreſs him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain

obtain his ſuccour, and the manifeſtation of his will. He accordingly was ſo gracious as to reveal himſelf to them; to conduct them by apparations, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the moſt aſtoniſhing kind.

But thoſe who were ſo blind as to ſubſtitute falſehood in the place of truth, directed themſelves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to anſwer their expectations, nor recompenſe the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwiſe than by error and illuſion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence aroſe the vain obſervations of dreams, which, from a ſuperſtitious credulity, they miſtook for ſalutary warnings from heaven; thoſe obſcure and equivocal anſwers of oracles, beneath whoſe veil the ſpirits of darkneſs concealed their ignorance; and, by a ſtudied ambiguity, reſerved to themſelves an evaſion or ſubterfuge, whatever might be the iſſue of the event. To this are owing the prognoſticks, with regard to futurity, which men fancied they ſhould find in the entrails of beaſts, in the flight and ſinging of birds, in the aſpect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; thoſe dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, as was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even ſometimes the effuſion of human blood: in fine, thoſe black inventions of magick, thoſe deluſions, enchantments, ſorceries, invocations of ghoſts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received uſage, obſerved by the heathen nations in general; and this uſage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a ſhort account. We have a ſignal proof of this in the Cyropedia*, where Cambyſes, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince ſuch noble inſtructions, inſtructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain, and great prince. He exhorts him, above all

* Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. i. p. 45, 47.

things,

things, to pay the higheſt reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterpriſe, whether important or inconſiderable, without firſt calling upon, and conſulting them; he enjoins him to honour prieſts and augurs, as being their miniſters, and the interpreters of their will; but yet not to truſt or abandon himſelf implicitly and blindly to them, till he had firſt learnt every thing relating to the ſcience of divination, of auguries and auſpices. The reaſon he gives for the ſubordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the neceſſity they are under of conſulting them in all things, is this; how clear-ſighted ſoever mankind may be in the ordinary courſe of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a ſingle glance, takes in all ages and events. "As the gods," ſays Cambyſes to his ſon, "are eternal, they know equally all things, paſt, preſent, and to come. With regard to the mortals who addreſs them, they give ſalutary counſels to thoſe whom they are pleaſed to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not undertake. If it is obſerved, that the deities do not give the like counſels to all men, we are not to wonder at it, ſince no neceſſity obliges them to attend to the welfare of thoſe perſons, on whom they do not vouchſafe to confer their favour."

Such was the doctrine of the moſt learned and moſt enlightened nations, with reſpect to the different kinds of divination; and it is no wonder that the authors, who wrote the hiſtory of thoſe nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of ſuch particulars as conſtituted part of their religion and worſhip, and was frequently in a manner the ſoul of their deliberations, and the ſtandard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the ſame reaſon, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the enſuing hiſtory, what relates to this ſubject, though I have however retrenched a great part of it.

Archbiſhop Uſher is my uſual guide in chronology.

In

In the history of the Carthaginians I commonly set down four æras: The year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity's sake, I mark thus, A. M. those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and lastly, the year that precedes the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th of the world; wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they rose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority; it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions (after the confusion of tongues) began to people the earth.

In these early ages every father was the supreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it; the natural legislator over his little society; the defender and protector of those, who, by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safeguard.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestick labours, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which the paternal vigilance established in this little domestick senate, being dictated in no other view, but to promote the general welfare; concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors, with full and free consent;

were

were religiouſly kept and preſerved in families as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and ſecurity.

But different motives gave riſe to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a firſt-born ſon, reſolved to diſtinguiſh him from his future children, by beſtowing on him a more conſiderable ſhare of his poſſeſſions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the intereſt of a beloved wife or darling daughter, whom he wanted to ſettle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to ſecure their rights and increaſe their advantages. The ſolitary and cheerleſs ſtate to which a wife would be reduced, in caſe ſhe ſhould become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide, beforehand, for the ſubſiſtence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity.

In proportion as every family increaſed, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by inſenſible degrees, towns and cities. From theſe different views, and others of the like nature, aroſe the different cuſtoms of nations, as well as their rights, which are various.

Theſe ſocieties growing, in proceſs of time, very numerous; and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whoſe different intereſts and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was neceſſary to intruſt one perſon with the government of the whole, in order to unite all theſe chiefs or heads under a ſingle authority, and to maintain the publick peace by an uniform adminiſtration. The idea which men ſtill retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to chooſe from among their wiſeſt and moſt virtuous men, him in whom they had obſerved the tendereſt and moſt fatherly diſpoſition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the leaſt ſhare in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided

decided on these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy *.

To heighten the lustre of their newly-acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themselves entirely to the publick good; to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbours, and the factions of discontented citizens; the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons; tributes were granted; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes †.

At first, every city had its particular king, who, being more solicitous of preserving his dominion than of enlarging it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours; the jealousy against a more powerful king; the turbulent and restless spirit of a prince; his martial disposition, or thirst of aggrandizing himself and displaying his abilities; gave rise to wars, which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were by that means possessed by the victor, and increased insensibly his dominions. ‡ Thus, a first victory paving the way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had pushed his conquests.

The ambition of some of these princes being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, it broke over

* *Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat.* Justin. l. i. c. 1.

† *Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat Intra suum cuique patrium regna finiebantur.* Justin. ibid.

‡ *Domitis proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transiret, & proxima quæque victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius orientis populos subegit* Justin. ibid.

all

all bounds, and ſpread univerſally like a torrent, or the ocean; ſwallowed up kingdoms and nations; and gloried in depriving princes of their dominions, who had not done them the leaſt injury; in carrying fire and ſword into the moſt remote countries, and in leaving, every where, bloody traces of their progreſs! ſuch was the origin of thoſe famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various uſe of victory, according to the diverſity of their diſpoſitions or intereſts. Some, conſidering themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and imagining they were ſufficiently indulgent in ſparing their lives, bereaved them, as well as their children of their poſſeſſions, their country, and their liberty; ſubjected them to a moſt ſevere captivity; employed them in thoſe arts which are neceſſary for the ſupport of life, in the loweſt and moſt ſervile offices of the houſe, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the moſt inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ranſack the bowels of the earth, merely to ſatiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and ſlaves, maſters and bondmen.

Others introduced the cuſtom of tranſporting whole nations into new countries, where they ſettled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes again, of more gentle diſpoſitions, contented themſelves with only obliging the vanquiſhed nations to purchaſe their liberties, and the enjoyment of their lives and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpoſe; and ſometimes they would ſuffer kings to ſit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them ſome kind of homage.

But ſuch of theſe monarchs as were the wiſeſt and ableſt politicians, thought it glorious to eſtabliſh a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquered, and their other ſubjects; granting the former almoſt all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed. And by this means a great number of nations, that were

were ſpread over different and far diſtant countries, conſtituted, in ſome meaſure, but one city, at leaſt but one people.

Thus I have given a general and conciſe idea of mankind, from the earlieſt monuments which hiſtory has preſerved on this ſubject, the particulars whereof I ſhall endeavour to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I ſhall not touch upon the hiſtory of the Jews, or that of the Romans. I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, becauſe the former are of very great antiquity, and as the hiſtory of both is leſs blended with that of other nations; whereas thoſe of other ſtates are more interwoven, and ſometimes ſucceed one another.

Reflections on the different Sorts of Government.

The multiplicity of governments eſtabliſhed among the different nations, of whom I am to treat, exhibits, at firſt view, to the eye and to the underſtanding, a ſpectacle highly worthy our attention, and ſhows the aſtoniſhing variety which the ſovereign of the world has conſtituted in the empires that divide it, by the diverſity of inclinations and manners obſervable in each of thoſe nations. We herein perceive the characteriſtics of the Deity, who ever reſembling himſelf in all the works of his creation, takes a pleaſure to paint and diſplay therein, under a thouſand ſhapes, an infinite wiſdom, by a wonderful fertility, and an admirable ſimplicity: a wiſdom that can form a ſingle work, and compoſe a whole, perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the univerſe, and all the productions of nature, notwithſtanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diverſified.

In the Eaſt the form of government that prevails is the monarchical, which being attended with a majeſtick pomp, and a haughtineſs almoſt inſeparable from ſupreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and a more entire ſubmiſſion, from

thoſe

thoſe in ſubjection to its power. When we conſider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican ſpirit had breathed themſelves into every part of that country, and had inſpired almoſt all the different people who inhabited it with a violent deſire of independence: diverſified, however, under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of ſubjection and ſlavery. In one part of Greece the ſupreme power is lodged in the people, and is what we call a *democracy*: in another, it is veſted in an aſſembly of wiſe men, and thoſe advanced in years, to which the name of *ariſtocracy* is given: in a third republic, the government is lodged in a ſmall number of ſelect and powerful perſons, and is called *oligarchy*: in others again, it is a mixture of all theſe parts, or of ſeveral of them, and ſometimes even of regal power.

It is manifeſt that this variety of governments, which all tend to the ſame point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the univerſe; and that it can proceed from no other being than him who governs it with infinite wiſdom, and who diffuſes univerſally an order and ſymmetry, of which the effect is to unite the ſeveral parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although in this diverſity of governments, ſome are better than others, we nevertheleſs may very juſtly affirm, that "there is no power but of God; and that the powers that be, are ordained of God *." But neither every uſe that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of of him: and when we ſee theſe governments degenerating, ſometimes to violence, factions, deſpotic ſway, and tyranny, it is wholly to the paſſions of mankind that we muſt aſcribe thoſe irregularities, which are directly oppoſite to the primitive inſtitution of ſtates, and which a ſuperior wiſdom, afterward reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his deſigns, full of equity and juſtice.

* Rom. xiii. 1.

This ſcene or ſpectacle, as I before obſerved, highly deſerves our attention and admiration, and will diſplay itſelf gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the ancient hiſtory, of which it ſeems to me to form an eſſential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events, what regards the manners and cuſtoms of nations: becauſe theſe ſhow their genius and character, which we may call, in ſome meaſure, the ſoul of hiſtory. For to take notice only of æras and events, and confine our curioſity and reſearches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in viſiting many countries, ſhould content himſelf with knowing their exact diſtance from each other, and conſider only the ſituation of the ſeveral places, the manner of building, and the dreſſes of the people; without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to converſe with the inhabitants, in order to inform himſelf of their genius, manners, diſpoſition, laws, and government. Homer, whoſe deſign was to give, in the perſon of Ulyſſes, a model of a wiſe and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his Odyſſey, that his hero informed himſelf very exactly in the manners and cuſtoms of the ſeveral people whoſe cities he viſited; in which he ought to be imitated by every perſon who applies himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory.

A geographical Deſcription of Aſia.

As Aſia will hereafter be the principal ſcene of the hiſtory we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader ſuch a general idea of it, as may at leaſt communicate ſome knowledge of its moſt conſiderable provinces and cities.

The northern and eaſtern parts of Aſia are leſs known in ancient hiſtory.

To the north are *Aſiatic Sarmatia* and *Aſiatic Scythia*, which anſwer to Tartary.

Sarmatia

Sarmatia is ſituated between the river Tanais, which divides Europe and Aſia, and the river Rha, or Volga. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other ſide of mount Imaus. The nations of Scythia beſt known to us are the Sacæ and the Maſſagetæ.

The moſt eaſtern parts are, *Serica*, Cathay; *Sinarum Regio*, China; and *India*. This laſt country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this ſide the river Ganges, included between that river and the Indus, which now compoſes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part, was that on the other ſide of the Ganges.

The remaining part of Aſia, of which much greater mention is made in hiſtory, may be divided into five or ſix parts, taking it from eaſt to weſt.

I. The *Greater Aſia*, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are, *Gedroſia*, *Carmania*, *Arachoſia*, *Drangiania*, *Bactriana*, the capital of which was, Bactria; *Sogdiana*, *Margiana*, *Hyrcania*, near the Caſpian Sea; *Parthia*, *Media*, the city Ecbatana; *Perſia*, the cities of Perſepolis and Elymais; *Suſiana*, the city of Suſa; *Aſſyria*, the city of Nineveh, ſituated on the river Tigris; *Meſopotamia*, between the Euphrates and Tigris; *Babylonia*, the city of Babylon on the river Euphrates.

II. *Aſia between Pontus Euxinus and the Caſpian Sea.* Therein we may diſtinguiſh four provinces. 1. *Colchis*, the river Phaſis, and Mount Caucaſus. 2. *Iberia*. 3. *Albania*; which two laſt mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater *Armenia*. This is ſeparated from the leſſer by the Euphrates; from Meſopotamia by Mount Taurus; and from Aſſyria by Mount Niphates. Its cities are

Artaxata and Tigranocerta, and the river Araxes runs through it.

III. *Asia Minor.* This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces,

1. Northward, on the shore of Pontus Euxinus; *Pontus*, under three different names. Its cities are, Trapezus, not far from whence are the people called Chalybes or Chaldæi: Themiscyra, a city on the river Thermadoon, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*; the cities of which are, Nicia, Prusia, Nicomedia, Chalcedon opposite Constantinople, and Heraclea.

2. Westward, going down by the shores of the Ægean Sea; *Mysia*, of which there are two. The *Lesser*, in which stood Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Parium, Abydos opposite to Sestos, from which it is separated only by the Dardanelles; Dardanum, Sigæum, Ilion, or Troy; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of Tenedos. The rivers are, the Arsepe, the Granicus, and the Simois. Mount Ida. This region is sometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which Troas is part.

The *Greater Mysia.* Antandros, Trajanopolis, Adramyttum, Pergamus. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of *Lesbos*; the cities of which are, Methymna, where the celebrated Arion was born; and Mitylene, whence the whole island was so called.

Æolia. Elea, Cuma, Phocæa.

Ionia. Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus.

Caria. Laodicea, Antiochia, Magnesia, Alabanda. The river Mæander.

Doris. Halicarnassus, Cnidos.

Opposite to these four last countries, are the islands *Chos*, *Samos*, *Pathmos*, *Cos*; and lower towards the south, *Rhodes*.

3. Southward, along the Mediterranean;

Lycia,

Lycia, the cities of which are, Telmeſſus, Patara. The river Xanthus. Here begins Mount Taurus, which runs the whole length of Aſia, and aſſumes different names, according to the ſeveral countries through which it paſſes.

Pamphylia. Perſia, Aſpendus, Sida.

Cilicia. Seleucia, Corycium, Tarſus, on the river Cydnus. Oppoſite to Cilicia is the iſland of Cyprus. The cities are, Salamis, Amathus, and Paphos.

4. Along the banks of the Euphrates, going up northward;

The *Leſſer Armenia*. Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, Satala. The river Melas, which empties itſelf into the Euphrates.

5. Inlands.

Cappadocia. The cities whereof are, Neocæſarea, Comana Pontica, Sebaſtia, Sebaſtopolis, Diocæſarea, Cæſarea, otherwiſe called Mazaca, and Tyana.

Lycaonia and *Iſauria*. Iconium, Iſauria.

Piſidia. Seleuca and Antiochia of Piſidia.

Lydia. Its cities are, Thyatyria, Sardis, Philadelphia. The rivers are, Cayſtrus and Hermus, into which the Pactolus empties itſelf. Mount Sipulus and Tmolus.

Phrygia Major. Synnada, Apamia.

IV. *Syria*, now named Suria, called under the Roman emperors, the Eaſt, the chief provinces of which are,

1 *Paleſtine*, by which name is ſometimes underſtood all Judea. Its cities are, Jeruſalem, Samaria, and Cæſaria Paleſtina. The river Jordan waters it. The name of Paleſtine is alſo given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, Gaza, Aſcalon, Azotus, Accaron and Gath.

2. *Phœnicia*, whoſe cities are, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus. Its mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus.

3. *Syria*.

3. *Syria*, properly ſo called, or *Antiochena*; the cities whereof are, Antiochia, Apamia, Laodicea, and Seleucia.

4. *Comagena*. The city of Samoſata.

5. *Coeloſyria*. The cities are, Zeugma, Thapſacus, Palmyra, and Damaſcus.

V. *Arabia Petræa*. Its cities are, Petra, and Boſtra. Mount Caſius. *Deſerta*. *Fœlix*.

Of Religion.

It is obſervable that in all ages and regions the ſeveral nations of the world, however various and oppoſite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one eſſential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a ſupreme being, and of external methods neceſſary to evidence ſuch a belief. Into whatever country we caſt our eyes, we find prieſts, altars, ſacrifices, feſtivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places conſecrated to religious worſhip. In every people we diſcover a reverence and awe of the divinity; and homage and honour paid to him; and an open profeſſion of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and neceſſities, in all their adverſities and dangers. Incapable of themſelves to penetrate futurity, and to aſcertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon conſulting the divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows and offerings. It is by the ſame ſupreme authority they believe the moſt ſolemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is it that gives ſanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the puniſhment of ſuch crimes and enormities as eſcape the knowledge and power of men. On their private occaſions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diſeaſes, the divinity is ſtill invoked. With him their very repaſt begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterpriſe formed, without his aid being firſt implored;

implored; to which the glory of the ſucceſs is conſtantly aſcribed by public acts of thankſgiving, and by the oblation of the moſt precious of the ſpoils, which they never fail to ſet apart as the indiſpenſable right of the divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If ſome few perſons, depraved by bad philoſophy, preſume from time to time to riſe up againſt this doctrine, they are immediately diſclaimed by the public voice. They continue ſingular and alone, without making parties, or forming ſects: the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is ſet upon their heads; whilſt they are univerſally regarded as execrable perſons, the bane of civil ſociety, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, ſo uniform, ſo perpetual a conſent of all the nations of the univerſe, which neither the prejudice of the paſſions, the falſe reaſoning of ſome philoſophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary; can proceed only from a firſt principle, which ſhares in the nature of man; from an inherent ſenſe implanted in his heart by the author of his being; and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itſelf.

Such were the ſource and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of perſiſting in the purity and ſimplicity of theſe firſt principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, thoſe ſad effects of the corruption of human nature, ſtrangely diſfigured their original beauty. They are but faint rays, ſmall ſparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguiſh; but they are incapable of diſpelling the profound darkneſs of a night, which prevails almoſt univerſally, and preſents nothing to view but abſurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiouſneſs, and diſorder; in a word, an hideous chaos of frantic exceſſes and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than theſe maxims of

of Cicero*? That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of, whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnificence in his worship, but by presenting him an heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reflections of the few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the foul doctrine of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes, were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most sacred and reverend mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life; we find the authority of laws,

* *Sit hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optima de genere hominum mereri; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. Ad di vos adeunto casti. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento.* Cic. leg. l. ii. n. 15 & 19.

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the imperious power of cuſtom, the preſence of magiſtrates, the aſſembly of all orders of the ſtate, the example of fathers and mothers, all conſpire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and ſacrilegious worſhip, under the name, and in a manner under the ſanction of religion itſelf; as we ſhall ſoon ſee in the ſequel.

After theſe general reflections upon Paganiſm, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I ſhall reduce this ſubject, though infinite in itſelf, to four articles, which are, 1. The feaſts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public ſhows and repreſentations of the theatre. In each of theſe articles, I ſhall treat only of what appears moſt worthy of the reader's curioſity, and has moſt relation to this hiſtory. I omit ſaying any thing of ſacrifices, having given a ſufficient idea of them * elſewhere.

Of the Feaſts.

An infinite number of feaſts were celebrated in the ſeveral cities of Greece, and eſpecially at Athens, of which I ſhall only deſcribe three of the moſt famous, the Panathenea, the feaſts of Bacchus, and thoſe of Eleuſis.

The Panathenea.

This feaſt was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of that city, to which ſhe gave her † name, as well as to the feaſt we ſpeak of. Its inſtitution was ancient, and it was called at firſt Athenea; but after Theſeus had united the ſeveral towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. Theſe feaſts were of two kinds, the great and the leſs, which were ſolemnized with almoſt the ſame ceremonies; the leſs annually, and the great upon the extirpation of every fourth year.

* Manner of teaching, &c. Vol. I. † Αθηνη.

In theſe feaſts were exhibited racing, the gymnaſtic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of muſic and poetry. Ten commiſſaries elected from the ten tribes preſided on this occaſion, to regulate the forms and diſtribute the rewards to the victors. This feſtival continued ſeveral days.

The firſt day in the morning a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They ſtarted from Ceramicus, one of the ſuburbs of Athens, and croſſed the whole city. The firſt that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the ſame courſe on horſeback.

The gymnaſtic or athletic combats followed the races. The place for that exerciſe was upon the banks of the Iliſſus, a ſmall river, which runs through Athens, and empties itſelf into the ſea at Piræus.

Pericles inſtituted the prize of muſic. In this diſpute were ſung the praiſes of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides; to which was afterwards added the Eulogium of Thraſibulus who expelled the thirty tyrants. Theſe diſputes were not only warm amongſt the muſicians, but much more ſo amongſt the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æſchylus is reported to have died with grief upon ſeeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himſelf.

Theſe exerciſes were followed by a general proceſſion, wherein a ſail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiouſly delineated the warlike actions of Pallas againſt the Titans and Giants. That ſail was affixed to a veſſel, which was called by the name of the goddeſs. The veſſel, equipped with ſails, and with a thouſand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleuſis, not by horſes or beaſts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which

which put the oars in motion, and made the veſſel glide along.

The march was ſolemn and majeſtic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive-branches in their hands, θαλλοφόροι; and theſe were choſen for the goodneſs of their ſhape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, alſo accompanied them in the ſame equipage.

The grown and robuſt men formed the ſecond claſs. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the ſtrangers who inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, with other inſtruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the ſame age, attended by the foreigners of their own ſex, carrying veſſels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third claſs was compoſed of the young perſons of both ſexes, and of the beſt families in the city. The youth wore veſts, with crowns upon their heads, and ſung a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddeſs. The maids carried baſkets, in which were placed the ſacred utenſils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the ſight of the ſpectators. The perſon, to whoſe care thoſe ſacred things were intruſted, was to have obſerved an exact continence for ſeveral days before he touched them, or diſtributed them to the Athenian virgins; *or rather, as Demoſthenes ſays, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was an high honour to a young woman to be choſen for ſo noble and auguſt an office, and an inſupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have ſeen that Hipparchus treated the ſiſter of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incenſed the conſpirators againſt the Piſiſtratides. Theſe Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and ſeats for them.

*Οὐχὶ προειρηκότων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἁγνεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἡγνευκέναι. *Demoſt. in extrema Ariſtocratia.*

The

The children of both ſexes cloſed the pomp of the proceſſion.

In this auguſt ceremony, the ῥαψῳδοὶ were appointed to ſing certain verſes of Homer; a manifeſt proof of their eſtimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus, firſt introduced that cuſtom.

I have obſerved elſewhere, that in the gymnaſtic games of this feaſt an herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated phyſician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the ſignal ſervices which he had rendered the ſtate during the peſtilence.

In this feſtival the people of Athens put themſelves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, and implored of her all kind of proſperity. From the battle of Marathon, in theſe public acts of worſhip, expreſs mention was made of the Platæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

Feaſts of Bacchus.

The worſhip of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where ſeveral feaſts had been eſtabliſhed in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the reſt, called the great and the leſs feaſts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word[a] that ſignifies a wine-preſs. The great feaſts were commonly called Dionyſia, from one of the names of that god[b], and were ſolemnized in the ſpring within the city.

In each of theſe feaſts the public were entertained with games, ſhows, and dramatic repreſentations, which were attended with a vaſt concourſe of people, and exceeding magnificent, as will be ſeen hereafter:

[a] Ληνὸς. [b] Dionyſus.

at

at the ſame time the poets diſputed the prize of poetry, ſubmitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expreſsly choſen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then repreſented before the people.

Theſe feaſts continued many days. Thoſe who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts, carried a thyrſus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twiſted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other inſtruments proper to make a great noiſe; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees ſacred to Bacchus. Some repreſented Silenus, ſome Pan, others the Satyrs, all dreſt in ſuitable maſquerade. Many of them were mounted on aſſes; others dragged *goats along for ſacrifices. Men and women, ridiculouſly transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenneſs, and dancing with the moſt indecent poſtures, ran in throngs about the mountains and foreſts, ſcreaming and howling furiouſly; the women eſpecially ſeemed more outrageous than the men, and quite out of their ſenſes, in their †furious tranſports invoked the god, whoſe feaſt they celebrated, with loud cries; εἰοῦ Βάκχε, or ὦ ὦ Ιακχε, or Ἰώ Ἴακχε, or Ἰὼ Βάκχε.

This troop of Bachanalians was followed by the virgins of the nobleſt families in the city, who were called κανηφόροι, from carrying baſkets on their heads, covered with vine and ivy-leaves.

To theſe ceremonies others were added, obſcene to the laſt exceſs, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in ſuch a manner. The ſpectators were no ſchiſmatics: they gave into the prevailing humour, and were ſeized with the ſame frantic ſpirit. Nothing was ſeen but dancing, drunkenneſs, debauchery, and all that the moſt abandoned licentiouſneſs could conceive of

* Goats were ſacrificed, becauſe they ſpoiled the vines.

† From this fury of the Bacchanalians theſe feaſts were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Orgia ὀργὴ ira, furor.

groſs

groſs and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wiſeſt of all Greece, not only ſuffered, but admired and practiſed I ſay an entire people; for *Plato, ſpeaking of the Bacchanals, ſays in direct terms, that he had ſeen the whole city drunk at once.

[c] Livy informs us, that this licentiouſneſs of the Bacchanalians having ſecretly crept into Rome, the moſt horrid diſorders were committed there under the cover of the night; beſides which, all perſons, who were initiated into theſe impure and abominable myſteries, were obliged, under the moſt horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably ſecret. The ſenate, being appriz-ed of the affair, put a ſtop to thoſe ſacrilegious feaſts by the moſt ſevere penalties; and firſt baniſhed the practiſers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. Theſe examples inform us, †how far a miſtaken ſenſe of religion, that covers the greateſt crimes with the ſacred name of the Divinity, is capable of miſleading the mind of man.

The feaſt of Eleuſis.

There is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feaſt of Ceres Eleuſina. The ceremonies of this feſtival were called, by way of eminence, the myſteries, from being, according to Pauſanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and inſtitution are attributed to Ceres herſelf, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleuſis, a ſmall town of Attica, in ſearch of her daughter Proſerpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, ſhe invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which ſhe rewarded the inhabitants. ‡She not only taught them the uſe of corn, but inſtructed

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8, 18.

* Πασαν ἰθιασαμεν τὴν πόλιν περι τα Διονυσια μεθυουσαν. Lib. i. de leg. p. 63.

† *Nihil in ſpeciem fallacius eſt quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur ſceleribus.* Liv. xxxix. n. 16

‡ *Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperiſſe, atque in vitam hominum*

instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called Τελεταὶ and *Initia*. To these first happy lessons fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable amongst the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less were solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November; the great in the month Boedromion, or August. Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded; so that Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted by Athenians, in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendour dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new hor-

minum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus. initiaque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus. Cic. l. ii de le. n. 36.

Neque Ceres et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque occultissimis ceremoniis continentur: a quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exemplæ hominibus et civitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispertita esse dicuntur. Id. Cic. in Verr. de supplic. n 186.

rors

rors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, improved the terror and amazement; whilst the person admitted, stupid, sweating through fear, heard trembling the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of silence, imposed on the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, * as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes. What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpides. He had three colleagues; [d] one who carried a torch; another an herald, [e] whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king [f], and was one of the nine Archons. His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants [g], one chosen from the family of the Eumolpides, a second from that of the Cerycians, and the two last from two other families. He had, besides, ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices from whence they derived their name [h].

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses, to whose service they devoted them-

[d] Δαδοῦχος. [e] Κηρυξ. [f] Βασιλεὺς. [g] Επιμεληται. [h] Ἱεροποιοι.
* Οιδεν Ἐλευσὶν τωυτα καὶ οἱ των σιωπωμένων καὶ ἐκπλήτη οντων ἀξιων ἐπόπται. Orat. de sacr. lumin.

selves;

ſelves; and was the means to a more perfect and certain happineſs in the other world: whilſt, on the contrary, ſuch as had not been initiated, beſides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their deſcent to the ſhades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. [i] Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to perſuade him to avoid ſuch a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—"What," ſaid he "ſhall Ageſilaus and Epaminondas lie amongſt mud and dung, whilſt the vileſt Athenians, becauſe they have been initiated, poſſeſs the moſt diſtinguiſhed places in the regions of the bleſſed?" Socrates was not more credulous; he would not be initiated into theſe myſteries, which was perhaps one reaſon that rendered his religion ſuſpected.

[k] Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the croud into it upon one of the feaſt-days, although out of miſtake and with no ill deſign, were both put to death without mercy. It was alſo a capital crime to divulge the ſecrets and myſteries of this feaſt. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proſcribed, and had a reward ſet upon his head. He intended to have made the ſecret coſt the poet Æſchylus his life, from ſpeaking too freely of it in ſome of his tragedies. The diſgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the ſame cauſe. [*] Whoever had violated the ſecret was avoided as a wretch accurſed and

[i] Diogen. Laert. l. vi. p. 389. [k] Liv. i. xxxi. n. 14.

[*] *Eſt et fidelis tuta ſilentio*
Merces, Vetabo qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iiſdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum. Hor. Od. II. l. iii.

Safe is the ſilent tongue, which none can blame,
The faithful ſecret merit fame;
Beneath one roof ne'er let him reſt with me,
Who *Ceres'* myſteries reveals;
In one frail bark ne'er let us put to ſea,
Nor tempt the jarring winds with ſpreading ſails.

excom-

excommunicated. [1] Pauſanias in ſeveral paſſages, wherein he mentions the Temple of Eleuſis, and the ceremonies practiſed there, ſtops ſhort, and declares he cannot proceed, becauſe he had been forbade by a dream or viſion.

This feaſt, the moſt celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After ſome previous ceremonies and ſacrifices on the firſt three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the proceſſion of *the Baſket*; which was laid upon an open chariot ſlowly drawn by oxen *, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried myſterious baſkets in their hands, filled with ſeveral things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony repreſented the baſket into which Proſerpine put the flowers ſhe was gathering when Pluto ſeized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of *the Torches*; becauſe at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in ſearch of her daughter.

The ſixth was the moſt famous day of all. It was called Iachus, the name of Bacchus, ſon of Jupiter and Ceres, whoſe ſtatue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The proceſſion began at Ceramicus, and paſſing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleuſis. The way leading to it was called *the ſacred way*, and lay croſs a bridge over the river Cephiſus. This proceſſion was very numerous, and generally conſiſted of thirty thouſand perſons.

[1] Lib. i. p. 26, & 71.

* *Tardaque Eleuſinæ matris volventia plauſtra.*
VIRG. Georg. lib. i. ver. 163.
The Eluſinian mother's myſtick car
Slow-rolling———

The

[m] The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude, and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The rout before mentioned, through the sacred way and over the Cephisus, was the usual way: but after the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley; without doubt, because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great [n]. The Athenians who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve in so general an affliction to solemnize a festival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing [o]. It was continued down to the time of the Christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the pro-consul of Greece, had not represented in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sor-

[m] Her. l. viii. c. 65. l. ix. p. 395. [n] Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 671.
[o] Zosim. hist. l. iv.

row

row which the abrogation of that feaſt would occaſion among the people; upon which it was ſuffered to ſubſiſt. It is ſuppoſed to have been finally ſuppreſſed by Theodoſius the Great; as were all the reſt of the Pagan ſolemnities.

Of Augurs, Oracles, &c.

Nothing is more frequently mentioned in ancient hiſtory, than oracles, augurs, and divinations. No war was made, or colony ſettled; nothing of conſequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being firſt conſulted. This was a cuſtom univerſally eſtabliſhed amongſt the Egyptian, Aſſyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already obſerved, of its being derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worſhip of the true God. It is not indeed to be queſtioned, but that God before the Deluge did manifeſt his will to mankind in different methods, as he has ſince done to his people, ſometimes in his own perſon, and *viva voce*, ſometimes by the miniſtry of angels or of prophets inſpired by himſelf, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the deſcendants of Noah diſperſed themſelves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkneſs and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have inſiſted more upon the neceſſity of conſulting the gods on all occaſions by augurs and oracles than Xenephon, and he founds that neceſſity, as I have more than once obſerved elſewhere, upon a principle deduced from the moſt refined reaſon and diſcernment. He repreſents in ſeveral places, that man of himſelf is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the preſent itſelf eſcapes him, ſo narrow and ſhort-ſighted is he, in all his views, that the ſlighteſt obſtacles can fruſtrate his greateſt deſigns, that only the divini-

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ty, to whom all ages are preſent, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, and that it is reaſonable to believe he will guide and protect thoſe who adore him with the pureſt affection, who invoke him at all times with greateſt conſtancy and fidelity, and conſult him with moſt ſincerity and reſignation.

Of Augurs.

What a reproach is it to human reaſon, that ſo bright and luminous a principle ſhould have given birth to the abſurd reaſonings, and wretched notions in favour of the ſcience of augurs and ſoothſayers, and been the occaſion of eſpouſing with blind devotion the moſt ridiculous puerilities: to make the moſt important affairs of ſtate depend upon a bird's happening to ſing upon the right or left hand; upon the greedineſs of chickens in pecking their grain; the inſpection of the entrails of beaſts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did ſometimes entirely diſappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever ſubſiſted! To theſe ſuperſtitious obſervances may be added, accidental rencounters, words ſpoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad preſages, forebodings, prodigies, monſters, eclipſes, comets, every extraordinary phænomenon, every unforeſeen accident, with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that ſo many great men, illuſtrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philoſophers, have actually given into ſuch abſurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, ſo eſtimable in other reſpects, is to be pitied for his ſervile obſervance of the ſenſeleſs cuſtoms of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, ſigns and prodigies. He tells us ſomewhere, that he abſtained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which

which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wiſeſt of the Pagans did not want a juſt ſenſe of the art of divination, and often ſpoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmoſt contempt, and in a manner ſufficiently expreſſive of its ridicule. The grave cenſor Cato was of opinion, that one ſoothſayer, could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the ſimplicity of Pruſias, whom he had adviſed to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inſpection of the entrails of a victim: "What," ſaid he, "have you more confidence in the liver of a beaſt, than in ſo old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus, who had been five times conſul, and was augur, ſaid, that he had diſcovered a method of not being put to a ſtand by the ſiniſter flight of birds, which was, to keep himſelf cloſe ſhut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himſelf upon augury without ambiguity or reſerve. Nobody was more capable of ſpeaking pertinently upon it than himſelf (as Mr. Morin obſerves in his diſſertation upon the ſame ſubject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himſelf acquainted with the moſt concealed of their ſecrets, and had all poſſible opportunity of informing himſelf fully in their ſcience. That he did ſo, ſufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be ſaid he has exhauſted the ſubject. In his ſecond, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the augurs, he diſputes and defeats his falſe reaſonings with a force, and at the ſame time with ſo refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wiſh; and he demonſtrates by proofs, that riſe upon each other in their force, the falſity, contrariety, and impoſſibility of that art. * But what

* *Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel uſu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetuſtate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem & ad opinionem vulgi, & ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, diſciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni ſupplicio digni P. Claudius L. Junius conſules, qui contra auſpicia*

what is very ſurpriſing, in the midſt of all his arguments, he takes occaſion to blame the generals and magiſtrates, who on important conjunctures had contemned the prognoſtics; and maintains, that the uſe of them, as great an abuſe as it was in his own ſenſe, ought nevertheleſs to be reſpected out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto ſaid tends to prove, that Paganiſm was divided into two ſects, almoſt equally enemies of religion; the one by their ſuperſtitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreligious contempt and deriſion of them.

The principle of the firſt, founded on one ſide upon the ignorance and weakneſs of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the preſcience of the divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the conſequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, falſe and abſurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, the divinity himſelf had eſtabliſhed theſe external ſigns to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himſelf to a punctual conformity to them upon all occaſions: But they had nothing of this kind in their ſyſtem. The augurs and ſoothſayers therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, raſhneſs, curioſity, and blind paſſions of man, who preſumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give anſwers upon his very idle imagination and unjuſt enterpriſe.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the ſcience of the augurs, did not fail however to obſerve their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better ſubjecting the minds of the people to themſelves, and to reconcile them to their own purpoſes by the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition: but by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falſity, they were led into a diſbelief of the divine providence, and to deſpiſe religion itſelf; con-

auſpicia vavigarunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiantur. Divin. l. ii. n. 70. 71.

ceiving

ceiving it inſeparable from the numerous abſurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and conſequently unworthy a man of ſenſe.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, becauſe having miſtaken the Creator, and abuſed the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deſervedly abandoned to their own darkneſs and abſurd opinions; and, if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourſelves up to the ſame ſuperſtitions.

Of Oracles.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of, oracles than Greece. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe which were the moſt noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Moloſſians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave anſwers either by vocal * oaks, or doves, which had alſo their language, or by reſounding baſons of braſs, or by the mouths of prieſts and prieſteſſes.

[p] The oracles of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was only a ſimple hero, were in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as waſhing in the river, offering ſacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by ſmall ladders through a very narrow paſſage. At the bottom was another little cavern of which the entrance was alſo exceeding ſmall. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain compoſition of honey in each hand, which they

[p] Pauſan. l. ix. p. 602, 604.

* Certain inſtruments were faſtened to the tops of oaks, which, being ſhaken by the wind, or by ſome other means, rendered a confuſed ſound. Servius obſerves, that the ſame word in the Theſſalian language ſignifies *dove* and *prophetſs*, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that ſpoke. It was eaſy to make thoſe brazen baſons ſound by ſome ſecret means, and to give what ſignification they pleaſed to a confuſed and inarticulate noiſe.

were

were indiſpenſably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no ſooner done, than they perceived themſelves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the ſame manner. Some ſaw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite ſtupified, and out of their ſenſes, and were placed in the chair of Mnemoſyne, goddeſs of memory; not without great need of her aſſiſtance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had ſeen and heard; admitting they had ſeen or heard any thing at all. Pauſanias, who had conſulted that oracle himſelf, and gone through all theſe ceremonies, has left a moſt ample deſcription of it; to which [q]Plutarch adds ſome particular circumſtances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

[r]The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ in the neighbourhood of Miletus, ſo called from Branchus, the ſon of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great eſteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Aſia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the prieſts had delivered its treaſures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an eſtabliſhment in the remoteſt parts of Aſia, to ſecure them againſt the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Mileſians re-eſtabliſhed that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, ſurpaſſed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly deſtroyed the city where the prieſts Branchidæ had ſettled, of which their deſcendants were at that time in actual poſſeſſion, puniſhing in the children the ſacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

[s]Tacitus relates ſomething very ſingular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Aſia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus," ſays he, "went to conſult Apollo at Claros. It is not a

[q]Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. [r]Herod. l. i. c. 157. Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.
[s]Tacit. Annal. l. ii. 54.

woman who gives the anſwers there as at Delphos, but a man choſen out of certain families, and almoſt always of Miletus. It ſuffices to let him know the number and names of thoſe who come to conſult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drunk of the waters of a ſpring within it, he delivers anſwers in verſe upon what the perſons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant and knows nothing of compoſing in meaſure. It is ſaid, that he foretold to Germanicus his ſudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the cuſtom of oracles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the moſt famous of them all. It is very obvious that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worſhipped there under the name of the Pythian, derived from the ſerpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that ſignifies to enquire, πυθέσθαι becauſe people came thither to conſult him. From thence the Delphic prieſteſs was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated the Pythian games.

Delphos was an ancient city of Phocis in Achaia. It ſtood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnaſſus, built upon a ſmall extent of even ground, and ſurrounded with precipices, which fortified it without the help of art. [1] Diodorus ſays, that there was a cavity upon Parnaſſus, from whence an exhalation roſe, which made the goats dance and ſkip about, and intoxicated the brain. A ſhepherd having approached it, out of a deſire to know the cauſes of ſo extraordinary an effect, was immediately ſeized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not underſtand himſelf; however, they foretold futurity. Others made the ſame experiment, and it was ſoon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have ſomething divine in it. A prieſteſs was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the

[1] Lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.

vent,

vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps from the skin[a] that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave, where a temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death or disease. There were other assistants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets[x]; it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to make the inspection into them. To these the demands of the enquirers were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sybil of Delphos. The ancients represent the latter as a woman who roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the same time the Sybil of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priestess pretended it was forbid to ask him any questions, and

[a] Corium. [x] Προφῆται.

would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, "Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted!" or, "my son, you are invincible!" Upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon * as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the † symptoms of distraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After she had been a cer-

* *Cui talia fanti*
Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non Comtæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelum.
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore dei. VIRG. Æn. l. vi. v. 46—51.

† Among the various marks which God has given us in the scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, *et rabie fera corda tument* is one. It is I, says God, that show the falsehood of the diviners predictions, and give to such as divine, the motives of fury and madness; or, according to *Isa.* xliv. 25. "That frustrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad." Instead of which the prophets of the true God constantly gave the divine answers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguished mark is, the demons giving their oracles, in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world. "I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth," *Isa.* xlv. 19. "I have not spoken in secret from the beginning." *Isa.* xlviii. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

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tain time upon the tripod, she was reconducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days, to recover herself of her fatigue, and as Lucan says[y], a sudden death was either often the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm:

Numinis aut pœna est mors immatura recepti,
Aut pretium.

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprising, that Apollo, who presided in the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophetess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connexion, and coming only by starts, to use that expression, [z] from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own: the oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were * ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility (to use that expression) so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite, events. By the help of this artifice, the demons, who of themselves are

[y] Lib. v. [z] Ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

* *Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententiæ temperarint ut, seu boni seu mali quid accidisset, utrumque posset intelligi.* Hieronym. in cap. xlii. Isaiæ. He cites the two examples of Crœsus and Pyrrhus.

not

not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Crœsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus,

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos, vincere posse.

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however, be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have repeated, in the history of Crœsus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was, to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really so. *The emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter* sealed up, to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful † facility,

* Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. xxiii.

* It was customary to consult the oracle by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

† *Omnis spiritus ales Hoc et angelia et dæmones. Igitur memento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant.*

lity, with which dæmons can transfer themſelves almoſt in an inſtant from place to place, made it not impoſſible for them to give the two related anſwers, and ſeem to foretel in one country what they had ſeen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that ſome oracles have been followed preciſely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to puniſh the blind and ſacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has ſometimes permitted the dæmons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretel them diſtinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehenſion, is frequently atteſted in the holy ſcriptures.

It has been queſtioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane hiſtory, ſhould be aſcribed to the operations of Dæmons, or only to the malignity and impoſture of men. Wandale, a Dutch phyſician, has maintained the latter; and Monſieur Fontonelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the perſuaſion (to uſe his own words) that it was indifferent, as to the truth of chriſtianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of ſpirits or a ſeries of impoſtures. Father Baltus, the Jeſuit, profeſſor of the holy ſcriptures in the univerſity of Straſburgh, has refuted them both in a very ſolid piece, wherein he demonſtrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and ſucceſs, the raſhneſs and preſumption of the anabaptiſt phyſician, who, calling in queſtion the capacity and diſcernment of the holy doctors, abſurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of thoſe great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is ſo great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradi-

enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia ſubſtantia ignoratur.—Caterum teſtudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo ſupra diximus. Memento apud Lydiam fuerat. TERTUL. in Apolog.

tion.

tion. And if that was ever certain and conſtantaneous in any thing, it is ſo in this point; for all the fathers of the church, and eccleſiaſtical writers of all ages, maintain, and atteſt, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppoſe the belief, that the prieſts and prieſteſſes were frequently guilty of fraud and impoſture in the anſwers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian hiſtory we have ſeen more than once the Delphic prieſteſs ſuffer herſelf to be corrupted by preſents. It was from that motive, ſhe perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to aſſiſt the people of Athens in the expulſion of the thirty tyrants; that ſhe cauſed Demaratus to be diveſted of the royal dignity to make way for Cleomenes; and dreſt up an Oracle to ſupport the impoſtor of Lyſander, when he endeavoured to change the ſucceſſion to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themiſtocles, who well knew the importance of acting againſt the Perſians by ſea, inſpired the god with the anſwer he gave, "to defend themſelves with walls of wood." [b] Demoſthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently ſuggeſted by paſſion or intereſt, and ſuſpecting with reaſon, that Philip had inſtructed them to ſpeak in his favour, boldly declared that the Pythia *philippized*, and bad the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, inſtead of liſtening to, and amuſing themſelves with the frivolous anſwers of the oracle, thoſe idle bugbears of the baſe and cowardly, conſulted only reaſon in the choice and execution of their meaſures.

The ſame father Baltus examines with equal ſucceſs the ceſſation of oracles, a ſecond point in the diſpute. Mr. Wandale, to oppoſe with ſome advantage a truth ſo glorious to Jeſus Chriſt, the ſubverter of idolatry, had falſified the ſenſe of the fathers, by making them ſay, "that oracles ceaſed preciſely at the moment of Chriſt's birth." The learned apologiſt for the fathers ſhows that they all alledge oracles did not

[b] Plut. in. Demoſth. p. 854.

ceaſe

ceaſe till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his goſpel, not on a ſudden, but in proportion to his ſalutary doctrines being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceaſed.

What an honour to the chriſtian religion was this ſilence impoſed upon the oracles by the victory of Jeſus Chriſt? Every Chriſtian had this power. [c] Tertullian in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and conſents that a Chriſtian ſhould be put to death, if he did not oblige theſe givers of oracles to confeſs themſelves devils. [d] Lactantius informs us, that every Chriſtian could ſilence them by only the ſign of the croſs. And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apoſtate was at Daphne, a ſuburb of Antioch, to conſult Apollo, the god, notwithſtanding all the ſacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his ſpeech to anſwer thoſe who enquired the cauſe of his ſilence, that they muſt aſcribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Thoſe were the bodies of Chriſtian martyrs, amongſt whom was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Chriſtian religion ought to give us a due ſenſe of our obligations to Jeſus Chriſt, and, at the ſame time, of the darkneſs to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have ſeen, amongſt the Carthaginians, * fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beaſts, inhumanly giving up their chil-

[c] Tertull. in Apolog. [d] Lib. de vera ſapient. c. xxvii.

* *Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuiſſe homines, ut parricidium ſuum, id eſt tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, ſacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maxime eſt ætas parentibus dulcior, ſine ullo reſpectu pietatis extinguerunt, immanitatemque omnium beſtiarum, quæ tamen factus ſuos amante, feritate ſuperarent. O dementiam inſanabilem! Quod illis iſti dii amplius facere poſſent ſi eſſent iratiſſimi quam faciunt propitii? Cum ſuos cultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus maſtant, humanis ſenſibus ſpoliant,*

LACTANT. l. i, c. 21.

dren, and annually depopulating their cities, by deſtroying the moſt florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and falſe gods. The victims were choſen without any regard to rank, ſex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of ſacrifices, and deſigned to make the gods propitious. "What greater evil," cries Lactantius, "could they inflict in their moſt violent diſpleaſure, than to deprive their adorers of all ſenſe of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their ſacrilegious hands with ſuch execrable parricides!"

A thouſand frauds and impoſtures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where elſe, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the leaſt diminiſhed the credit of the oracles, which ſubſiſted upwards of two thouſand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the ſenſe of the greateſt men, the moſt profound philoſophers, the moſt powerful princes, and generally among the moſt civilized nations, and ſuch as valued themſelves moſt upon their wiſdom and policy. The eſtimation they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immenſe riches amaſſed in it through the ſuperſtitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

*The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphyctions, thoſe celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themſelves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amount to nine hundred thouſand livres. The cities of Greece were to furniſh that ſum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that purpoſe. Amaſis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed conſiderable ſums towards it. The Alcmeonides, a potent family of Athens, was charged with the conduct of the building,

* Herod. l. ii. c. 180. c. l, v. et 62.

and

and made it more magnificent by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, king of Lydia, and Crœsus, one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold, which Crœsus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus [f], to upwards of 254 talents; that is, about 762,000 French livres *; and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were in being in the time of Herodotus. [g] Diodorus Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres †.

[h] Amongst the statues of gold, consecrated by Crœsus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker, of which this was the occasion. Alyattus, Crœsus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she contrived to get rid of her son-in-law that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime (in which she ought to have had no part at all) gave Crœsus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude that a person of so mean a condition could deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so much-vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

[f] Herod. l. i. c. 50, 51. [g] Diod. l. xvi. p. 458.
[h] Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.
* About 33,500l. sterling. † About 1,300,000l.

It is not to be wondered, that such immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above a hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies; and at others, either from incapacity or confusion, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo (more of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach) he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some dissertations upon them, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

Of the Games and Combats.

Games and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the ancients; and for that reason it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall be surprised at their being so much practised in the best governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity were not only the institutors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein.

The ſubduers of monſters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no diſgrace to them, to aſpire at the victories in theſe combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the ſolemnization of theſe games, took any luſtre from thoſe they had before acquired. Hence the moſt famous poets made theſe combats the ſubject of their verſes; the beauty of whoſe poetry, whilſt it immortalized themſelves, ſeemed to promiſe an eternity of fame to thoſe whoſe victories it ſo divinely celebrated. Hence aroſe that uncommon ardour, which animated all Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and, like them, to ſignalize themſelves in the public combats.

A reaſon more ſolid, which reſults from the nature of theſe combats, and of the people who uſed them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced theſe exerciſes, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger ſort for the profeſſion of arms, to confirm their health, to render them ſtronger and more robuſt, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in cloſe fight, in which, the uſe of fire-arms being then unknown, the ſtrength of body generally decided the victory. Theſe athletic exerciſes ſupplied the place of thoſe in uſe amongſt our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horſe, &c. but they did not confine themſelves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a ſhape and face; they were for joining ſtrength to the charms of perſon.

It is true, theſe exerciſes, ſo illuſtrious by their founders, and ſo uſeful in the ends at firſt propoſed from them, introduced public maſters, who taught them to young perſons, and practiſing them with ſucceſs, made public ſhow and oſtentation of their ſkill. This ſort of men applied themſelves ſolely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an exceſs, they formed it into a kind of ſcience, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profeſſion of people, who, without

without any other employment, or merit, exhibited themselves as a ſight for the diverſion of the public. Our dancing-maſters are not unlike them in this reſpect, whoſe natural and original deſignation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good addreſs; but now we ſee them mount the ſtage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, ſkipping, and making variety of ſtrange unnatural motions. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, what opinion the ancients had of their profeſſed combatants and wreſtling-maſters.

There were four kinds of games ſolemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, ſo called from Olympia, otherwiſe Piſa, a town of Elis in Peloponneſus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythic*, ſacred to Apollo * Pythius, ſo called from the ſerpent Python, killed by him; they were alſo celebrated every four years. The *Nemæan*, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and foreſt of Peloponneſus, and were either inſtituted or reſtored by Hercules, after he had ſlain the lion of the Nemæan foreſt. They were ſolemnized every two years. And laſtly the *Iſthmian*, celebrated upon the iſthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Neptune. [k] Theſeus was the reſtorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That perſons might be preſent at theſe public ſports with greater quiet and ſecurity, there was a general ſuſpenſion of arms, and ceſſation of hoſtilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In theſe games, which were ſolemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourſe of ſpectators from all parts, a ſimple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was compoſed of wild olive. In the Pythic, of laurel, In the Nemæan of green parſley [l]; and in the Iſthmian of the ſame herb. The inſtitutors of theſe games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and ſordid

[k] Pauſ. l. ii. p. 88. [l] Apium.

* Several reaſons are given for this name.

intereſt,

interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle! [m] We have seen in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief, "* Heavens! against what men are you leading us? Insensible to interest, they combat only for glory?" Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

[n] It was from the same principle the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who saved the life of a citizen. "Oh manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!" cries Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. "O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby sufficiently arguing it their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man's life from the motive of lucre and interest! *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint; et cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa!*

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank, and that for three reasons, They were sacred to Jupiter the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators from all parts, than any of the rest.

[o] If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and

[m] Herod. l. viii. c. 88. [n] Plin. l. xvi. c. 4. [o] Pausan. l. v. p. 279.

* Παπαὶ Μαδόνιε, κοίνους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμᾶς, οἱ ὑ' περὶ χρημα των τὸν αγωνα ποιουνται, ἀλλὰ περι ἀρετης.

during

during their continuance, it was ordained that no woman ſhould approach the place where the games were celebrated, or paſs on that ſide of the river Alpheus. One only was ſo bold as to violate this law, and ſlipped in diſguiſe among the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have ſuffered for it, according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her ſon, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and ſaved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongſt whom the ladies were very reſerved, ſeldom appeared in public, had ſeparate apartments, called *Gynæcea*, and never eat at table with the men when ſtrangers were preſent. It was certainly inconſiſtent with decency to admit them at ſome of the games, as thoſe of wreſtling, and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

The ſame Pauſanias tells us in another place, that the prieſteſs of Ceres had an honourable ſeat in theſe games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being preſent at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reaſon of ſuch inconſiſtency, which indeed ſeems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in theſe games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to deſire any thing beyond it. *Cicero aſſures us, that with them it was no leſs honourable than the conſular dignity in its original ſplendor with the ancient Romans. And in another place he ſays, that † to conquer at Olympia, was almoſt, in the ſenſe of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace ſpeaks in ſtill

‡ Pauſan. l. vi. p. 382.

* *Olympiorum victoria, Græcis conſulatus ille antiquus videbatur.* Tuſcul. Queſt. lib. ii. n. 41.

† *Olympionicam eſſe apud Græcos prope majus fuit et glorioſus, quam Romæ triumphaſſe.* Pro Flacco, num. xxxi.

ſtronger

ſtronger terms upon this kind of victory. * He is not afraid to ſay, that "it exalts the victory above human nature; they were no longer men but gods."

We ſhall ſee hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the moſt affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardleſs of expences, than the aſſurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the ſame year with the victory. To this motive may be added, the joy of knowing, that their praiſes would be celebrated by the moſt famous poets, and ſhare in the entertainment of the moſt illuſtrious aſſemblies; for theſe odes were ſung in every houſe, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

I ſhall confine myſelf upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and ſhall deſcribe, in as brief a manner as poſſible, the ſeveral kinds of combats of which they were compoſed. Mr. Burette has treated this ſubject in ſeveral diſſertations, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; wherein purity, perſpicuity, and elegance of ſtyle are united with profound erudition. I make no ſcruple in appropriating to my uſe the riches of my brethren; and, upon this ſubject of the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbe Maſſieu's remarks upon the Odes of Pindar.

The combats, which had the greateſt ſhare in the ſolemnity of the public games, were boxing, wreſtling, the pancratium, the diſcus or quoit, and racing. To theſe may be added the exerciſe of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as theſe were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I

* ——— *Palmaque nobilis*
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos. Od. i. lib. 1.
Sive quos Elea donum reducit
Palma cæleſtes. Od ii. lib. 4.

ſhall

ſhall content myſelf with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of theſe games and exerciſes, it will be neceſſary to begin with an account of the Athletæ, or combatants.

Of the Athletæ or Combatants.

The term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word ἆθλος, which ſignifies labour, combat. This name was given to thoſe who exerciſed themſelves with deſign to diſpute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themſelves for theſe encounters, was called Gymnaſtic, from the Athletæ practiſing naked.

Thoſe who were deſigned for this profeſſion frequented, from their moſt tender age, the Gymnaſia or Palæſtra, which were a kind of academies maintained for that purpoſe at the public expence. In theſe places, ſuch young people were under the direction of different maſters, who employed the moſt effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and ſevere. At firſt they had no other nouriſhment but dried figs, nuts, ſoft cheeſe, and a groſs heavy ſort of bread, called μάζα. They were abſolutely forbid the uſe of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expreſſes thus [q],

Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contigere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer, ſudavit et alſit,
Abſtinuit venere et vino.

Who in th' Olympic race, the prize would gain,
Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain,
Exceſs of heat and cold has often try'd,
Love's ſoftneſs baniſh'd, and the glaſs deny'd.

St. Paul, by an alluſion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whoſe city the Iſthmian games were ce-

[q] Art. Poet. v. 412.

lebrated,

lebrated, to a ſober and penitent life. "Thoſe who ſtrive," ſays he, "for the maſtery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." Tertullian uſes the ſame thought to encourage the martyrs. * He makes a compariſon from what the hopes of victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the ſevere and painful exerciſes they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguiſh and conſtraint, in which they paſſed the beſt years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they impoſed upon themſelves, of all that was moſt affecting and grateful to their paſſions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always obſerve ſo ſevere a regimen, but at length ſubſtituted in its ſtead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exerciſes, were rubbed with oils and ointments to make their bodies more ſupple and vigorous. At firſt they made uſe of a belt, with an apron or ſcarf faſtened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to loſe the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occaſion of ſacrificing modeſty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The Athletæ were only naked in ſome exerciſes, as wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot-race. They practiſed a kind of noviciate in the Gymnaſia for ten months, to accompliſh themſelves in the ſeveral exerciſes by aſſiduous application; and this they did in the preſence of ſuch as curioſity or idleneſs conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the Athletæ, who were to appear in them, were kept to double exerciſe.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was alſo neceſſary, that their manners ſhould be unexceptionable, and their condition free.

* *Nempe enim et Athletæ ſegregantur ad ſtrictiorem diſciplinam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur a luxuria, a cibis lætioribus, a potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur.* TERTUL. ad Martyr.

No

No ſtranger was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas king of Macedon, preſented himſelf to diſpute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, oppoſed his reception as a Macedonian, and conſequently a Barbarian and a ſtranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally deſcended from the Argives.

The perſons who preſided in the games, called *Agonotheta*, *Athlotheta*, and *Hellanodica*, regiſtered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiouſly obſerve the ſeveral laws preſcribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the eſtabliſhed orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and exceſſive violence, were abſolutely prohibited; and the maxim ſo generally received elſewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was baniſhed from theſe combats. The addreſs of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to ſhift and fence dexterouſly, to put the change upon his adverſary with art and ſubtlety, and to improve the leaſt advantages, muſt not be confounded here with the cowardly and knaviſh cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws preſcribed, employs the moſt unfair means to vanquiſh his competitor. Thoſe who diſpute the prize in the ſeveral kinds of combats drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exerciſed themſelves.

Of Wreſtling.

Wreſtling is one of the moſt ancient exerciſes of which we have any knowledge, having been practiſed in the time of the patriarchs, as the wreſtling of the angel with Jacob proves[r]. Jacob ſupported the angel's attack ſo vigoroufly, that, perceiving he could not throw ſo

[r] Gen. xxxii, 24.

rough

rough a wreſtler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the ſinew of his thigh, which immediately ſhrunk up.

Wreſtling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practiſed at firſt with ſimplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the ſtrength of the muſcles, having more ſhare of it, than addreſs and ſkill. Theſeus was the firſt that reduced it to method, and refined it with the rules of art. He was alſo the firſt who eſtabliſhed the public ſchools, called *Palæſtra*, where the young people had maſters to inſtruct them in it.

The wreſtlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the ſtrength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the ſkin too ſlippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, ſometimes by rolling themſelves in the duſt of the Palæſtra, ſometimes by throwing a fine ſand upon each other, kept for that purpoſe in the Xyſtæ, or porticoes of the Gymnaſia.

Thus prepared, the wreſtlers began their combat. They were matched two againſt two, and ſometimes ſeveral couples contended at the ſame time. In this combat, the whole aim and deſign of the wreſtlers was to throw their adverſary upon the ground. Both ſtrength and art were employed to this purpoſe; they ſeized each other by the arms, drew forwards, puſhed backwards, uſed many diſtortions and twiſtings of the body; locking their limbs in each other's, ſeizing by the neck, throttling, preſſing in their arms, ſtruggling, plying on all ſides, lifting from the ground, daſhing their heads together like rams, and twiſting one another's necks. The moſt conſiderable advantage in the wreſtler's art, was to make himſelf maſter of his adverſary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate conſequence. From whence Plautus ſays in his Pſeudolus, ſpeaking of wine*, "He is a dangerous wreſtler, he preſently takes

* *Captat pedes primum, luctator doloſus eſt.*

one

one by the heels." The Greek terms ὑποσκελίζειν, and σφηνίζειν, and the Latin word *supplantare*, seemed to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give a fall.

In this manner the Athletæ wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler, who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confessed himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling, called Ακροχειρισμος, from the Athletæ using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers, and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

[a] Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the Thebaid of Statius, of Tydeus and Agylleus.

The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, where Milo of Croton, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs,

[a] Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 708, &c. Ovid Metam. l. ix. v. 31, &c. Pharf. l. iv. v. 612. Stat. l. v. vi. 147.

the

the beaſt could not get looſe without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipped his horſes in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Perſia, hearing of his prodigious ſtrength, was deſirous of ſeeing him, and invited him to Suſa. Three ſoldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Perſians called *immortal*, eſteemed the moſt warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

Of Boxing, or the Ceſtus.

Boxing is a combat at handy blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fiſts with a kind of offenſive arms, called *Ceſtus*, and their heads with a ſort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were moſt expoſed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The ceſtus was a kind of gauntlet, or glove, made of ſtraps of leather, and plated with braſs, lead, or iron, withinſide. Their uſe was to ſtrengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the Athletæ came immediately to the moſt violent blows, and began with charging in the moſt furious manner. Sometimes whole hours paſſed in harraſſing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extenſion of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adverſary. But when they fought with the utmoſt fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were moſt careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himſelf with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a ſurpriſing addreſs in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adverſary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were againſt each other, their being exhauſted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the neceſſity of making

making a truce: upon which the battle was ſuſpended for ſome minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the ſweat in which they were bathed: after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakneſs, or by ſwooning away, explained that he could no longer ſupport the pain or fatigue, and deſired quarter; which was confeſſing himſelf vanquiſhed.

Boxing was one of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous of the gymnaſtic combats; becauſe, beſides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They ſometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the ſand; though that ſeldom happened, except the vanquiſhed perſon perſiſted too long in not acknowledging his defeat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance ſo diſfigured, that it was not eaſy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the ſad marks of their vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as bruiſes and contuſions in the face, the loſs of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or ſome more conſiderable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, ſeveral deſcriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; [t] in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius, and Valerius Flaccus, of ſeveral other combatants.

Of the Pancratium.

The Pancratium [u] was ſo called from two Greek words which ſignify that the whole force of the body was neceſſary for ſucceeding in it. It united boxing and wreſtling in the ſame fight, borrowing from one its manner of ſtruggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with ſucceſs. In wreſtling it was not permitted to ſtrike with the hand, nor in boxing to ſeize each other in the manner of wreſtlers: But in the Pancratium, it was not only allowed to

[t] Dioſcor. Idyl. xxii. Argonautic. lib. ii. Æncid. l. i. Thebaid. l. vi. Argonaut. l. iv. [u] Παν πρατος.

make uſe of all the gripes and artifices of wreſtling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagoniſt.

This combat was the moſt rude and dangerous. A Pancratiaſt in the Olympic games (called Arrichion, or Arrachion) perceiving himſelf almoſt ſuffocated by his adverſary, who had got faſt hold of him by the throat, at the ſame time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguiſh of which obliged him to aſk quarter at the very inſtant Arrichion himſelf expired. The Agonothetæ crowned Arrichion, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philoſtratus has left us a very lively deſcription of a painting, which repreſented this combat.

Of the Diſcus, or Quoit.

The Diſcus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made ſometimes of wood, but more frequently of ſtone, lead, or other metal; as iron, or braſs. Thoſe who uſed this exerciſe were called Diſcoboli, that is, flingers of the Diſcus. The epithet κατωμαδιος, which ſignifies *borne upon the ſhoulders*, given this inſtrument by Homer, ſufficiently ſhows, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the ſhoulders were neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch a burthen any ſpace of time.

The intent of this exerciſe, as of almoſt all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of ſupporting the weight and uſe of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry ſuch loads, as appear exceſſive in theſe days, either of proviſions, faſcines, paliſades; or in ſcaling of walls, when to equal the height of them, ſeveral of the beſiegers mounted upon the ſhoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Diſcus, put themſelves into the beſt poſture they could, to add force to their caſt. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies they poiſed the Diſcus in

their hands, and then whirling it round ſeveral times almoſt horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint ſtrength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a ſhare in the vigour of the diſcharge. He that flung the Diſcus fartheſt was the victor.

The moſt famous painters and ſculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to repreſent naturally the attitudes of the Diſcoboli, have left poſterity many maſter-pieces in their ſeveral arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a ſtatue of that kind, which had been finiſhed with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: "* What can be more finiſhed, or expreſs more happily the muſcular diſtortions of the body in the exerciſe of the Diſcus, than the Diſcobolus of Myron?"

Of the Pentathlum.

The Greeks gave this name to an exerciſe compoſed of five others. It was the common opinion, that thoſe five exerciſes were wreſtling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the diſcus. It was believed that this ſort of combat was decided in one day, and ſometimes the ſame morning; and that the prize, which was ſingle, could not be given but to the victor in all thoſe exerciſes.

The exerciſe of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the firſt conſiſted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain diſtance, contributed to the forming of a ſoldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the ſpear and dart.

Of Races.

Of all the exerciſes which the Athletæ cultivated with ſo much pains and induſtry for their appearance in the public games, running was in the higheſt eſtimation, and held the foremoſt rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were ſolemnized at firſt with no other exerciſe.

* *Quid tam diſtortum et elaboratum, quam eſt ille Diſcobolus Myronis.*
QUINTIL. lib. ii. cap. 13.

The

The place where the Athletæ exercised themselves in running, was generally called the *Stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one *Stadium in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the Stadium, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under the denomination was included not only the space, in which the Athletæ ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastic games. The place where the Athletæ contended, was called Scamma, from its lying lower than the rest of the Stadium, on each side of which, and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the Stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. "As the judges," says he, "in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them."

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal where the

* The Stadium was a land-measure amongst the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149, six hundred feet in extent. Pliny says, lib. ii. c. 23, that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors may agree, considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides, which the measure of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

foot races ended, but in those of chariots and horses they were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and ancient.

1. *Of the Foot-race.*

The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. * Whilst they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal's being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eyes which was solely to decide the victory: for the Agonistic laws prohibited, upon the most infamous penalties, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called Διαυλος the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called Δολιχος, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and

* *Tunc rite citatos*
Explorant, acuunque gradus, variasque per artes
Infirmulant docto languentia membra tumultu.
Poplite nunc flexo sidunt, nunc lubrica forti
Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt
Cruta, brevemque fugam nec opino fine reponunt.
STRAT. Theb. lib. vi. v. 387, &c.

They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts;
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.
Now with bent hams, amidst the practis'd crowd,
They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud!
Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,
And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.

was compoſed of ſeveral Diauli. Sometimes it conſiſted of twenty-four Stadia backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in ancient times, as well amongſt the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their ſwiftneſs. [x] Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia [y] between Athens and Lacedæmon in the ſpace of two days, till Anyſtis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred Stadia [z] in one day, from Sicione to Elis. Theſe runners were denominated ημεροδρομοι, as we find in that paſſage of Herodotus [a], which mentions Phidippides. In the conſulate of Fonteius and Vipſanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran ſeventy-five thouſand paces [b] between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and ſixty thouſand paces [c] in the Circus. Our wonder at ſuch a prodigious ſpeed will increaſe (continues he) [d] if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Druſus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in leſs than four-and-twenty hours, though the diſtance was but two hundred thouſand paces [e] and he ran with three poſt-chaiſes * with the utmoſt diligence.

2. *Of the Horſe-races.*

The race of a ſingle horſe with a rider was leſs celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons, and even kings themſelves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar in his firſt ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuſe, to whom he gives the title of κελης, that is, *Victor in the Horſe-race*; which name was given to the horſes carrying only

[x] Plin. l. vii. c. 20. [y] 57 leagues. [z] 60 leagues.
[a] Herod. l. vi. c. 106. [b] 30 leagues. [c] More than 53 leagues.
[d] Val. Max. l. v. c. 5. [e] 67 leagues.
* He had only a guide and one officer with him.

a ſingle

a single rider, Κελης. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *Desultorii*, and their riders *Desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the Stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which still made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were also cavalry * called *Desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and were generally Numidians.

3. *Of the Chariot-races.*

This kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider their origin. It is plain, they were derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, for the attainment of it. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots enoble, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes and generals of armies.

* *Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus est.* Liv. lib. xxiii.

Hence

Hence it was, that all thoſe who preſented themſelves in the Olympic games to diſpute the prize in the chariot races, were perſons conſiderable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themſelves aſpired paſſionately to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor, in theſe games, was ſcarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the ſplendours of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuſe, were of that opinion. Dionyſius, who reigned there long after them, carried the ſame ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had theſe victories ſtamped upon his coins, and ſeemed as much affected with them, as with thoſe obtained againſt the enemies of his ſtate. [e] All the world knows the anſwer of Alexander the Great on this ſubject. When his friends aſked him, whether he would diſpute the prize of the races in theſe games? "Yes," ſays he, "if kings were to be my antagoniſts." Which ſhows, that he would not have diſdained theſe exerciſes, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horſes, placed in a row; *bigæ quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules ſupplied the place of horſes, and then the chariot was called ἄπηνη. Pindar, in the fifth of his firſt book, celebrates one Pſaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horſes, τέθριππος; another by one drawn by mules, ἄπηνη; and the third by a ſingle horſe, κέλης which the title of the ode expreſſes.

Theſe chariots, upon a ſignal given, ſtarted together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumſtance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than thoſe on the right, which in conſequence had a greater compaſs to take. It appears from ſeveral paſſages in Pindar, and eſpecially from one in Sophocles, which I ſhall cite very ſoon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that

[e] Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

came

came in firſt the twelfth round was victor. The chief art conſiſted in taking the beſt ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of daſhing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his neareſt antagoniſt might cut the way upon him, and get foremoſt.

It is obvious that theſe chariot-races could not be run without ſome danger; for as the * motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed againſt the boundary in turning, the leaſt error in driving would have broken the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerouſly wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the Electra of Sophocles, who gives an admirable deſcription of this kind of race run by ten competitors. The falſe Oreſtes, at the twelfth and laſt round, having only one antagoniſt, the reſt having been thrown out, was ſo unfortunate as to break one of his wheels againſt the boundary, and falling out of his ſeat entangled in the reins, the horſes dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces; but this very ſeldom happened. [f] To avoid ſuch danger, Neſtor gave the following directions to his ſon Antilochus, who was going to diſpute the prize in the chariot-races. "My ſon," ſays he, "drive your horſes as near as poſſible to the turning; for which reaſon, always inclining your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horſe on the right, give him the rein, whilſt the near horſe, hard held, turns the boundary ſo cloſe to it, that the nave of the wheel ſeems to graze upon it; but have a care of running againſt the ſtone, leſt you wound your horſes, and daſh the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion, very conſiderable, in regard to the places of thoſe who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all ſtarted indeed from the ſame line, and at the ſame time, and ſo far had no advantage of each other; but he,

[f] Hom. Il. l. xxii. v. 334, &c.

* *Metaque fervidis Evitata rotis.* HORAT. Od. i. The goal ſhunn'd by the burning wheels.

whoſe

whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c. especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to insure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems, that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the first, or by taking his place; if not in the first, in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who disputed the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons, for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse-races.

[g] At the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

[h] Hiero sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the

[g] Plut. in Alex. p. 666. [h] Plut. in Themist. p. 124.

Greeks, to perſuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refuſed his aid againſt the common enemy, and to hinder his horſes from running with the reſt. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonſtrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, compoſed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equeſtrian races.

[1] No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece ſo far as Alcibiades, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner, by the great number of horſes and chariots, which he kept only for the races. There never was either private perſon or king that ſent, as he did, ſeven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the firſt, ſecond, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated theſe victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preſerved a fragment *in vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a ſumptuous ſacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feaſt to the innumerable multitude of the ſpectators at the games. It is not eaſy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private perſon ſhould ſuffice to ſo enormous an expence: but Antiſthenes the ſcholar of Socrates, who relates what he ſaw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, ſupplied Alcibiades with all things neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch incredible magnificence. Equipages, horſes, tents, ſacrifices, the moſt equiſite proviſions, the moſt delicate wines; in a word, all that was neceſſary to the ſupport of his table or train. The paſſage is remarkable, for the ſame author aſſures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or ſea. "Wherever," ſays he, "Alcibiades travelled, he made uſe of four of the allied cities as his ſervants. Epheſus furniſhed him with tents, as magnificent as thoſe of the Perſians; Chios took care to provide for his horſes; Cyzicum ſupplied him with ſa-

[1] Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

crifices,

crifices, and proviſions for his table; and Leſbos gave him wine, with all the other neceſſaries of his houſe."

I muſt not omit in ſpeaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to diſpute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. [k] Cyniſca, ſiſter of Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, firſt opened this new path of glory to her ſex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horſes. [l] This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all poſſible ſplendor. [m] A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cyniſca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwiſe very little ſenſible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to tranſmit this new triumph to poſterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inſcription in verſe. [n] She herſelf dedicated a chariot of braſs, drawn by four horſes, in the temple of Delphos; in which the charioteer was alſo repreſented; a certain proof that ſhe did not drive it herſelf. [o] In proceſs of time, the picture of Cyniſca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inſcriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

Of the honours and rewards granted to the victors.

Theſe honours and rewards were of ſeveral kinds. The ſpectators acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards deſigned them. Theſe rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parſley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Thoſe crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which cuſtom, according to Plutarch [p] aroſe, perhaps, from the nature of the palm-tree, which diſplays new vigour the more endeavours are uſed to cruſh or bend it, and is a ſymbol of the champion's courage and reſiſtance in the attainment

[k] Pauſan. l. iii. p. 172. [l] Pag. 288. [m] Pag. 272. [n] Id. l. v. p. 309. [o] Pauſan. l. vi. p. 344. [p] Sympoſ. l. viii. quæſt 4.

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of the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The Athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations, and friends, either at the expence of the public, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. [q] Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leopron did the same, as Athenæus reports [r], who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, of which pieces were given to all who were present.

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the athletic victors, was the right of taking place at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in

[q] Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. [r] Lib. i. p. 3.

which

which the useful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expence of their country. [s]That this expence might not become too chargeable to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachmas[t]; in the Isthmian to an hundred[u]; and in the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first applications of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe, in the public register, the name and country of the Athletæ who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. From whence the historians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes in the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants signalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes with those of the champions, whose victories he sung. [x]It is related upon

[s] Diog. Laert. in Solon; p. 37. [t] 250 livres. [u] 50 livres.
[x] Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 352, 353. Plæd. l. ii. Fab. 24. Quintil. xi. c. 3.

this

this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet according to cuſtom, after having given the higheſt praiſes to the champion, expatiates in a long digreſſion to the honour of Caſtor and Pollux. Scopas, ſatisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him however only the third part of the ſum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated ſo well. And he was well paid for their part in effect, if we may believe the ſequel: for, at the feaſt given by the champion, whilſt the gueſts were at table, a ſervant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with duſt aud ſweat, were at the door, and deſired to ſpeak with him in all haſte. He had ſcarcely ſet his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and cruſhed the champion with all his gueſts to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, eſpecially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and ſometimes in that of their birth alſo; which was commonly done at the expence of their country. Amongſt the ſtatues which adorned Olympia, were thoſe of ſeveral children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raiſe ſuch monuments to the champions, but to the very horſes, to whoſe ſwiftneſs they were indebted for the Agoniſtic crown: And [y] Pauſanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whoſe hiſtory is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the ſame manner as if he had been upon her back. She outſtripped all the reſt, and upon the ſound of the trumpets, which was uſual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, ſhe redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if ſhe had been ſenſible of the victory, preſented

[y] Lib. vi. p. 368.

herſelf

herſelf before the judges of the games. The Ælians declared Phidolas victor, with permiſſion to erect a monument to himſelf and the mare, that had ſerved him ſo well.

The different taſte of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to public ſhows.

Before I make an end of obſerving upon the combats and games, ſo much in eſtimation amongſt the Greeks, I beg the reader's permiſſion to make a reflection, that may ſerve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this ſubject.

The moſt common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair ſex, by nature tender and compaſſionate, were preſent in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effuſion of human blood, ſupplied a grateful ſpectacle for a whole people, who feaſted their cruel eyes with the ſavage pleaſure of ſeeing men murder one another in cool blood; and in the times of the perſecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whoſe age and weakneſs are apt to excite compaſſion in the hardeſt hearts.

In Greece theſe combats were abſolutely unknown, and were only introduced into ſome cities after their ſubjection to the Roman people. [a] The Athenians, however, whoſe diſtinguiſhed characteriſtics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was propoſed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, "Firſt throw down," cried out an [*] Athenian from the midſt of the aſſembly, "the altar, erected above a thouſand years ago by our anceſtors to Mercy."

It muſt be allowed, in this reſpect, that the conduct and wiſdom of the Greeks were infinitely ſuperior to that

[a] Lucian in vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

[*] It was Demonax, a celebrated philoſopher, whoſe diſciple Lucian had been. He flouriſhed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

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of the Romans. I ſpeak of the wiſdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of ſenſe, to be ſufficiently amuſed and entertained with the pleaſures of the underſtanding, could be delighted only with ſenſible objects, both nations were ſtudious to divert them with games and ſhows, and ſuch external contrivances as were proper to affect the ſenſes. In the inſtitution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and diſpoſition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accuſtomed to battles, retained, notwithſtanding the politeneſs upon which they piqued themſelves, ſomething of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effuſion of blood, and the murders exhibited in the public ſhows, far from inſpiring them with horror, was a grateful entertainment.

The inſolent pomp of triumphs flows from the ſame ſource, and argues no leſs inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was neceſſary to prove, that eight or ten thouſand men at leaſt had been killed in battle. The ſpoils which were carried with ſo much oſtentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honeſt families had been reduced to the utmoſt miſery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free perſons a few days before, and were often diſtinguiſhable for honour, merit, and virtue. The repreſentation of the towns that had been taken in the war explained, that they had ſacked, plundered, and burnt, the moſt opulent cities; and either deſtroyed, or enſlaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to inſult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

[a] The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from a haughty fierceneſs of diſpoſition and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortaliſing the ſhame and ſorrow of ſubjected nations.

[a] Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. p. 273.

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The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little durable, which would soon consume; and those it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable*. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity, that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity, to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

[b] I am pleased with the grief of Agesilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh! unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to have conquered all the Barbarians!"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony: and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece, from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country, and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time, in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity allied themselves more strictly with one another, apprized each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite

[b] Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

* Οτι τοῦ χρονοῦ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διάφορας ἀμαυρουντος αὐτοὺς ἀταλαμβάνειν καὶ κοινοποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐστι ἀφιλάπεχθημον.

the

the ſeveral little ſtates of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preſerve amongſt them the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame principles, the ſame zeal for their liberty, and the ſame paſſion for the arts and ſciences.

Of the prizes of wit, and the ſhows and repreſentations of the theatre.

I have reſerved for the concluſion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the ſtrength, activity, and addreſs of the body, and may be called with reaſon the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, hiſtorians, and poets made trial of their capacities, and ſubmitted their productions to the cenſure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this ſort of diſpute was moſt lively and ardent, as the victory in queſtion might juſtly be deemed to be infinitely ſuperior to all the others, becauſe it affects the man more nearly, is founded in his perſonal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aſpire at with the utmoſt vivacity and paſſion, and of which we are leaſt of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the ſame time a moſt ſenſible pleaſure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applauſe, to have known how to reconcile the voices in their favour of ſo numerous and ſelect an aſſembly, as that of the Olympic games; in which were preſent all the fineſt geniuſſes of Greece, and all the beſt judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to hiſtory, eloquence, and poetry.

[c] Herodotus read his hiſtory in the Olympic games to all Greece, aſſembled at them, and was heard with ſuch applauſe, that the names of the nine Muſes were given to the nine books which compoſe his work; and the people cried out wherever he paſſed, "That is he, who has wrote our hiſtory, and celebrated our glorious ſucceſſes againſt the Barbarians ſo excellently."

[c] Lucian. in Herod. p. 622.

All

All who had been present at the games, did afterwards make every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

[d] Plutarch observes, that Lysias the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

[e] We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek ραψῳδοι, *(Rhapsodists)* to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughs and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear. [f] He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardour and emulation expressed by them at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my readers,

[d] Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836. [e] Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.
[f] Ibid. l. xv. p. 384.

at

at the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those, who would be more fully informed in this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the reverend father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

Extraordinary passion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the stage. Emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in those representations. A short idea of dramatic poetry.

No people ever expressed so much ardour and passion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason of which is obvious: no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. *A poor woman, who sold herbs at Athens, distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by the public authority several times a year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance, when he disputed the prize.

* *Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem alioqui disertissimum, annotata unius dictatione verbi, hospitem dixit.* QUINT. l. viii. c. 2.

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The ſtate appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were repreſented in the feſtivals. They were acted before them in the preſence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their ſuffrages, and that performance, which had the moſt voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as ſuch, and was received with all poſſible pomp at the expence of the republic. This did not, however, exclude ſuch pieces as were only in the ſecond or third claſs. The beſt had not always the preference: for what times were exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? [s] Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of theſe diſputes, gave only the ſecond place to Euripides. He accuſes them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is eaſy to conceive the warmth and emulation, which theſe diſputes and public rewards excited amongſt the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection, to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the perſons themſelves, ſpeaking and acting upon the ſtage: In the epic, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine deſcriptions of events, in which illuſtrious perſons and whole nations are intereſted; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing thoſe perſons themſelves, with being confidents of their moſt ſecret ſentiments, and auditors and ſpectators of their reſolutions, enterprizes, and the happy or unhappy events, attending them. To read and ſee an action are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted than with what we read. The ſpectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation ſo nearly approaching life, miſtakes the picture for the original, and thinks

[s] Ælian. l. ii. c. 8.

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the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it; and not from the *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy; which had both their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were a long time comprized under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements, as at length raised them to their last perfection.

The origin and progress of tragedy. Poets who excelled in it at Athens; Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

There had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis; but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes it birth.

[h] *La tragedie, informe et groſſiere en naiſſant,*
N'etoit qu'un ſimple chœur, ou chacun en danſant,
Et du dieu des raiſins entonnant les louanges,
S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.—
La, le vin et la joie eveillant les eſprits,
Du plus habile chantre un bouc etoit le prix.

Formleſs and groſs did tragedy ariſe,
A ſimple chorus, rather mad than wiſe;
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken ſong.
Wild mirth and wine ſuſtain'd the frantic note,
And the beſt ſinger had the prize, a goat.

Theſpis made ſeveral alterations in it, which Horace deſcribes after Ariſtotle, in his Art of Poetry. The * firſt was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they uſed to ſing in the ſtreets, wherever chance led them. Another was to have their faces ſmeered over with wine-lees inſtead of acting without diſguiſe as at firſt. He alſo introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to reſt themſelves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of ſome illuſtrious perſon; which recital, at length, gave place to the ſubjects of tragedy.

[i] *Theſpis fut le premier, qui barbouille de lie,*
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuſe folie,
Et d'acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,
Amuſa les paſſans d'un ſpectacle nouveau.

[h] BOILEAU Art. Poet. Cant. iii.

* *Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camœnæ*
Dicitur, et plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentique perunctis fæcibus ora.
HOR. de Art. Poet.

When Theſpis firſt expos'd the tragic muſe,
Rude were the actors, and a cart the ſcene,
Where ghaſtly faces, ſmear'd with lees of wine,
Frighted the children, and amus'd the crowd.
ROSCOM. Art of Poet.

[i] BOILEAU Art. Poet. Cant. iii.

Firſt

Firſt Theſpis ſmear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart;
And as his tawdry actors drove about,
The ſight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

[k] Theſpis lived in the time of Solon. That wiſe legiſlator, upon ſeeing his pieces performed, expreſſed his diſlike, by ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the ground; apprehending, that theſe poetical fictions, and idle ſtories, from mere theatrical repreſentations, would ſoon become matters of importance, and have too great a ſhare in all public and private affairs.

It is not ſo eaſy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Theſpis made in tragedy, gave room for Æſchylus to make new and more conſiderable of his own. He was born at Athens, in the firſt year of the ſixtieth Olympiad [l]. He took upon him the profeſſion of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almoſt as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, where he did his duty. But his diſpoſition called him elſewhere, and put him upon entering into another courſe, where no leſs glory was to be acquired [m]; and where he was ſoon without any competitors. As a ſuperior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in conſequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a diſſertation which abounds with wit and good ſenſe, explains the manner in which Æſchylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himſelf uſed to ſay, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts in the Iliad and Odyſſey.

Tragedy therefore took a new form under him. He gave * maſks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains,

[k] A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
[l] A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540. [m] A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.
* *Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ*
Æſchylus, et modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. HOR. de Art Poet.

This

trains, and made them wear buſkins. Inſtead of a cart, he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their ſtyle; which from being merry and burleſque, as at firſt, became majeſtic and ſerious.

* *Eſchyle dans le chœur jetta les perſonages;*
D'un maſque plus honnête habilla les viſages:
Sur les ais d'un theatre en public exhauſſé
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chauſſé.

From Æſchylus the chorus learnt new grace;
He veil'd with decent maſks the actor's face,
Taught him in buſkins firſt to tread the ſtage,
And rais'd a theatre to pleaſe the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its ſoul, which was the moſt important and eſſential addition of Æſchylus, conſiſted in the vivacity and ſpirit of the action, ſuſtained by the dialogue of the perſons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the greater paſſions, eſpecially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the ſoul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleaſure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a ſubject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action: in fine, it is the conduct and diſpoſition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the ſpectator in ſuſpenſe till the cataſtrophe, and then reſtores him his tranquillity, and diſmiſſes him with ſatisfaction.

The chorus had been eſtabliſhed before Æſchylus, as it compoſed alone, or next to alone, what was then

This Æſchylus (with indignation) ſaw,
And built a ſtage, found out a decent dreſs,
Brought vizars (in a civiller diſguiſe)
And taught men how to ſpeak, and how to act.
Roscom. Art of Poet.

* Boileau Art. Poet.

called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed * either in giving useful counsels and salutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to sustain all those characters at the same time, according to Horace. The coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies, laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by his actors.

* *Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile*
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non proposito conducat, et hæreat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet, mensæ brevis; ille salubrem
Justitiam, legesque et apertis otia portis.
Ille regat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis. HOR. de Art. Poet.

The chorus should supply what action wants,
And hath a generous and manly part;
Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honesty,
And strict observance of impartial laws,
Sobriety, security, and peace,
And begs the gods to turn blind Fortune's wheel,
To raise the wretched and pull down the proud;
But nothing must be sung between the acts,
But what some way conduces to the plot.
ROSCOM. Art. of Poetry translat.

These

These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head-dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a dissertation of Mr. Boindin's, inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere† in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passed in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes outflames it with the heats of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others, diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius*. "Our ancestors," says he, "were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself, whilst he performed in a mask."

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the second year of the

* Vol. IV. † Manner of teaching, &c. Vol. IV.

* *Quo melius nostri illi senes, quidem, magnopere laudabant qui personatum, ne Roscium*, Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

ſeventy-firſt Olympiad. His father was a blackſmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His firſt eſſay was a maſter-piece. When, upon the occaſion of Cymon's having found the bones of Theſeus, and their being brought to Athens, a diſpute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the liſts with Æſchylus, and carried the prize againſt him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all loſt by failing of the laſt; and withdrew in diſguſt into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in diſgrace at Athens. He died there ſoon after in a very ſingular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay aſleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald head for a ſtone, let a tortoiſe fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at leaſt ſeventy, tragedies, compoſed by him, only ſeven are now extant.

Nor have thoſe of Sophocles eſcaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and ſeventeen in number, and according to ſome one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumſtance in his hiſtory. His children, unworthy of ſo great a father, upon pretence that he had loſt his ſenſes, ſummoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his eſtate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time compoſing, called Œdipus at Colonos, with which the judges were ſo charmed, that he carried his cauſe unanimouſly; and his children, deteſted by the whole aſſembly, got nothing by their ſuit, but the ſhame and infamy of ſo flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some ſay he expired in repeating his Antigone, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectation. The figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of Bee, which had been given him from the ſweetneſs of his verſes: whence

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it is probable, the notion was derived, of the bees having settled upon his lips when in his cradle. [q] He died in his ninetieth year, the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

[r] The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, at Salamin, whither his father Menesarchus and his mother Clito had retired when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and, amongst others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. * His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality; and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and † Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy, expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reproved whatever seemed inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best-founded excuse, in giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought. "Riches are the supreme good of human

[q] A. M. 2590. Ant. J. C. 405. [r] A. M. 2534. Ant. J. C. 480.

* *Sententiis densus, et in iis quæ a sapientibus sunt pene ipsis est par.* QUINTIL. l. x. c. 1.

† *Qui (Euripidi) quantum credas nescio: ego certe singulos ejus versus singula testimonia puto.* Epist. viii. l. 14. ad Famil.

race,

race, and with reaſon excite the admiration of the gods and men." The whole theatre cried out againſt theſe expreſſions, and he would have been baniſhed directly, if he had not deſired the ſentence to be reſpited till the concluſion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches periſhed miſerably.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an anſwer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her repreſenting to him, that he had engaged himſelf under an inviolable oath to keep her ſecret. "My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath," replied he, "but my heart gave no conſent to it." This frivolous diſtinction appeared to the whole people, as an expreſs contempt of the religion and ſanctity of an oath, that tended to baniſh all ſincerity and faith from ſociety, and the commerce of life.

Another maxim * advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæſar had always in his mouth, is no leſs pernicious. "If juſtice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in queſtion; in other reſpects, let it be duly revered." It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, ſays Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein ſuch violation is the higheſt crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and ſpeaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjuſt conduct by a falſe maxim; and it is not ſtrange, that Cæſar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjuſt, ſhould apply the ſentiments of a prince, whom he ſo much reſembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himſelf, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced ſo pernicious a principle upon the ſtage.

[a] Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to reanimate the ſpirit of the tragic poets, cauſed three ſtatues of braſs to be

[a] Plut. in vit. x. orat. p. 841.

* *Ipſe autem ſocer (Cæſar) in ore ſemper Græcos verſus Euripides, de Phœniſſis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, incondite fortaſſe, ſed tamen ut res poſſit intelligi. Nam, ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum quod omnium ſceleratiſſimum fuerat exceperit. Offic. l. iii. n. 82.

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erected in the name of the people to Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be tranſcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preſerved amongſt the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to repreſent them on the ſtage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been ſaid upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I ſhould obſerve upon the peculiar excellencies of their ſtyle and character. For that I muſt refer to Father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to ſay Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonſtrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles, and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end; he goes on to deſcribe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the moſt lively and ſhining colours.

Tragedy took at firſt from Æſchylus, its inventor, a much more lofty ſtyle than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æſchylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic ſtyle too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but ſomething more. His ſounding, ſwelling, gigantic diction reſembles rather the beating of drums and the ſhouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and ſilver ſound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not admit him to ſpeak the language of other men, ſo that his muſe ſeemed rather to walk in ſtilts, than in the buſkins of his own invention.

Sophocles underſtood much better the true excellence of the dramatic ſtyle: he therefore copies Homer more cloſely, and blends in his diction that honeyed ſweetneſs, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*; with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modeſt air of a matron compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expreſſes it.

The ſtyle of Euripides, though noble, is leſs removed from the familiar; and he ſeems to have affected rather the

the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity of his flight; and, as Racine, in copying the ancients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an excellence of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a * canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. † Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to resolve which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of

* I cannot tell whether the idea of "a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens," may properly imply the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

† *Tragediæ primis in locum Æschylus protulit sublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium: sed rudis in pleriſque et incompoſitus.* QUINTIL. *l.* x. *p.* 1.

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our nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have observed, that the tender and pathetic distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing, that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hercules and Andromache, who had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost only received upon our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste of the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the ancients, were terror and pity [t]. And, indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourselves, to our particular interest; when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others: besides which, the sharing a * common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befals them. Upon a close and attentive enquiry into those two passions they will be found the most important, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and for that reason, that those affections ought to prevail in it. The

[t] ἰοῦσαι ἢ ἔλεος.

* *Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.* TER.

paſſion of love was in no eſtimation amongſt them, and had ſeldom any ſhare in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be ſupported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this paſſion, which has always been deemed a weakneſs and a blemiſh in the greateſt characters, got ſuch footing upon our ſtage. Corneille, who was the firſt who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the reſt have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madneſs of romances, and little diſpoſed to admire any thing not reſembling them. From the deſire of pleaſing his audience, who were at the ſame time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accuſtomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his ſcenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taſte of the age for romance. From the ſame ſource aroſe that multiplicity of incidents, epiſodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obſcured; ſo contrary to probability, which will not admit ſuch a number of extraordinary and ſurpriſing events in the ſhort ſpace of four-and-twenty-hours; ſo contrary to the ſimplicity of ancient tragedy; and ſo adapted to conceal, in the aſſemblage of ſo many different objects, the ſterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verſe in their tragedies; not only as at the firſt it has a kind of dignity better adapted to the ſtage, but whilſt it approaches nearer to proſe, retains ſufficiently the air of poetry to pleaſe the ear, and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in repreſentations, where other perſons are ſuppoſed to ſpeak and act. Monſieur Dacier makes a very juſt reflection in this reſpect. He ſays, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almoſt no other verſe than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, paſtoral, ſatire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of verſification.

This

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to expreſs themſelves in a pompous ſtrain in their familiar converſation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the moſt impetuous paſſions in an uniform cadence, and by hemiſtichs and rhimes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offenſive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expreſſion, the ſpirit of the ſentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the reſiſtleſs force of cuſtom, had not in a manner ſubjected our reaſon, and illuded our judgment.

It was not chance, therefore, which ſuggeſted to the Greeks the uſe of iambics in their tragedy. Nature itſelf ſeems to have dictated that kind of verſe to them. Inſtructed by the ſame unerring guide, they made choice of a different verſification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being ſung; becauſe it was neceſſary for the poetry to ſhine out in all its luſtre, whilſt the free converſation between the real actors was ſuſpended. The chorus was an embelliſhment of the repreſentation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to ſupport it, when united with muſic and dancing.

Of the antient, middle, and new Comedy.

Whilſt tragedy aroſe in this manner at Athens, comedy, the ſecond ſpecies of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent to both. We are ſenſibly affected with the dangers, diſtreſſes, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illuſtrious perſons; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which ſupply us with occaſions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence comedy

dy derives itself; which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vice upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and consequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore (or, to express the same word by another, Pleasantry) ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occasioned various alterations in it.

The ancient comedy, so called* by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of buffooning and reviling the spectators from the cart of Thespis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions with the names, habits, gestures, and likeness in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the public diversion. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity, or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people upon the most important occasions, and interests. Nothing was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's satyrical vein; and all as well received, provided the comedy was diverting and the Attic salt not wanting.

*In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because more sacrifices are not offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes in a starving condition, to seek his fortune amongst mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, suttler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short, in any capacity, rather than to return to heaven. In another[x] the same gods in extreme want and necessity, from the birds having

* *Successit vetus his comœdia non sine multa*
Laude. Hor. de Art. Poet.

* Plautus. [x] The Birds.

built

built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well-stored with excellent game of all sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and shift the cook upon occasion. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satirical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprized at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and imprudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy[7], without being awed by his power and reputation: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared for the first time upon the stage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent him, or to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproaches him with

[7] The Knights.

embezzling

embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the Acharnians, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the Wasps, imitated by Racine in his Plaideurs, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet[z], concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition of Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called Lysistrata. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace.

[z] The Peace.

She

She relates how, during the war, the women enquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: That, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: That they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the rashness of their counsels; but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: That, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and advisable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order," says she, "to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators, from exciting troubles according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual. (Was ever any thing so bold?—She goes on with proving, that the women only are capabl eof retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument; that admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only represented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper for a right understanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we see, a true satire of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency from respect

to

to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and excessive a liberty. *It might, says he, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in that state, such as Cleon, Clephon, and Hyperbolus; but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus, or Nævius, had fallen upon the Scipioes, or Cæcilius reviled Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born in, and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcusable, I think it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. †It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first enquiry was after a certain comic poet (meaning Aristophanes) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterwards in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. His comedies spoke a language that became the councils of the republic. It was addressed to

† Aristoph. in Acharn.

* *Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Esto, populares homines improbos, in remp. seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum fuisse; patiamur —Sed Periclem, cum jam suæ civitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli præfuisset, violari versibus, et eas agi in scena, non plus decuit, quam si Plautus noster voluisset, aut Nævius P. et Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. Catoni maledicere.* Ex. fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib. iv.

the

the same people, upon the same occasions of the state; the same means to success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; in which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to distinguish upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence rose the liberty taken by the comic poets, of introducing the affairs of the state into their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three * persons particularly excelled in the ancient comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them, whose pieces have come entire down to us, and out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made the greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies,

* *Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,*
Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut Sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus: multa cum libertate notabant. Hor. Sat. IV. l. i.

With Aristophanes' satiric rage,
When ancient comedy arms'd the age,
Or Eupolis', or Cratinus' vein;
And others that all-license'd poems writ,
None, worthy to be shown, escap'd the scene.
No public knave, or thief of lofty mien,
The loose adult'rer was driven forth to fight,
The secret murth'rer trembling lurk'd the night;
Vice play'd rebel, and each ambitious spirit
All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

than

than as a cenſor of the government, retained to reform the ſtate, and to be almoſt the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happineſs of expreſſion, or, in a word, that Attic ſalt and ſpirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for * which Ariſtophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with ſuch ſucceſs, or knew better how to convey it in all its full force to others. But it were neceſſary to have lived in his times for a right taſte of his works. The ſubtle ſalt and ſpirit of the ancient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and inſipid to us; though the ſharpeſt part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two conſiderable defects are juſtly imputed to this poet, which very much obſcure, if not entirely efface his glory. Theſe are, low buffoonery, and groſs obſcenity; which objections have been oppoſed to no purpoſe from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally conſiſted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as neceſſary to pleaſe, as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's taſte, which once baniſhed Cratinus and his company, becauſe his ſcenes were not groſsly comic enough for them, is no excuſe for Ariſtophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taſte, by introducing a ſpecies of comedy, not altogether ſo modeſt as Plutarch ſeems to inſinuate, yet much chaſter than any before his time.

The groſs obſcenities, with which all Ariſtophanes's comedies abound, have no excuſe; they only denote an exceſſive libertiniſm in the ſpectators, and depravity in the poet. The utmoſt ſalt that could have been beſtowed upon them, which however is not the caſe, would not have atoned for laughing himſelf, or for making

* *Antiqua comœdia ſinceram illam ſermonis Attici gratiam prope ſola retinet.* QUINTIL.

others

others laugh, at the expence of decency and good manners*. And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make so ill an use of it†. Mr. Brumoi is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them, that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Christian.

The ancient comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticise with impunity upon the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited: but the poetical spirit soon found the secret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itself amends for the restraint it suffered in the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied to the discovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more

* *Nimium risus pretium est, si probitatis impendio constat.* QUINTIL. lib. vi. c. iii.

† *Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali.* QUINTIL. lib. i. c. 3.

refined

refined manner: the one had the delicate pleasure of pleasing the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions; and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, occasioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *New Comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage with feigned names and suppositious adventures.

Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'auteur des premiers rit du tableau fidele
Qu'n avere souvent tracé sur son modele;
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé.
Méconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.

In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd,
He sat with pleasure, tho' himself was play'd:
The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn,
Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;
His own dear self no imag'd fool could find.
But saw a thousand other fops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remains only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame

[a] Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. iii.

of

of all the writers in the same way. He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so * just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet of the same age, though prior to him, was preferred before him.

The Theatre of the Ancients described.

I have already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks: but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman, as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients [c], who has treated the subject in all its extent.

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent [d], as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the orchestra, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within

[c] Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. &c. Vol. I. p. 136, &c.
[d] Strab. l. ix. p. 393. Herod. l. viii. c. 65.

* *Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posterorum, quam suæ ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti.* Quintil. lib. iii. c. 6.

the

the ſemicircle, was alloted to the ſpectators, and had ſeats placed one above another to the top of the building. The ſquare part, in the front of it, was the actors diviſion; and in the interval, between both, was the orcheſtra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raiſed one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the ſame time three different ſtories for the ſeats. From the higheſt of thoſe porticoes the women ſaw the repreſentation, covered from the weather. The reſt of the theatre was uncovered, and all the buſineſs of the ſtage was performed in the open air.

Each of theſe ſtories conſiſted of nine rows of ſeats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and ſerved as a paſſage from ſide to ſide. But as this landing-place and paſſage took up the ſpace of two benches, there were only ſeven to ſit upon, and conſequently in each ſtory there were ſeven rows of ſeats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; ſo that the ſpectator had room to ſit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by thoſe of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of theſe ſtories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by ſeveral ſtair-caſes, peculiar to each ſtory, which interſecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of ſeats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind theſe ſtories of ſeats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great ſquare openings, contrived for that purpoſe in the walls next the ſeats. Thoſe openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to ſupply

that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre, in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word [c] that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named θυμέλη, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of music. They called it ὑποσκήνιον, from its being situate at the principal part of the bottom of the theatre, which they styled the scenes.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scenes; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scenes, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently προσκήνιον, and λόγειον, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and

[c] ὀρχεῖσθαι.

which,

which, by the help of the decorations, repreſented either the public place or forum, a common ſtreet, or the country; but the place ſo repreſented was always in the open air.

The third diviſion was a part reſerved behind the ſcenes; and called by the Greeks παρασκηνιον. Here the actors dreſſed themſelves, and the decorations were locked up. In the ſame place were alſo kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the ſcene were roofed, it was neceſſary to draw ſails, faſtened with cords to maſts, over the reſt of the theatre, to ſcreen the audience from the heat of the ſun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occaſioned by the perſpiration and breath of ſo numerous an aſſembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that uſe above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of ſmall pores concealed in the ſtatues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuſe a grateful coolneſs all around, but the moſt fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the repreſentations were interrupted by ſtorms, the ſpectators retired into the porticoes behind the ſeats of the theatre.

The paſſion of the Athenians for repreſentations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their underſtanding, all ſhared in the ſatisfaction. Nothing gave them ſo ſenſible a pleaſure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the ſtrokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occaſioned the application, or the addreſs of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the moſt remote ſubjects with the tranſactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the intereſt of the people, took occaſion to ſooth their paſſions, authorize their pretenſions, juſtify, and ſometimes condemn, their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, inſtruct them in their duty in certain nice con-

jectures; in effect of which they often not only acquired the applauſes of the ſpectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counſels: hence the theatre became ſo grateful, and ſo much the concern of the people. It was in this manner according to ſome authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of * Palamedes with the ſentence paſſed againſt Socrates, and explained, by an illuſtrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philoſopher, oppreſſed by a vile malignity ſupported againſt him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occaſion of ſudden and unforſeen applications, which from their appoſiteneſs were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verſe of Æſchylus in praiſe of Amphiaraus.

———'Tis his deſire
Not to appear, but be the great and good,

the whole audience roſe up, and unanimouſly applied it to Ariſtides [f]. The ſame thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemæan games. At the inſtant he entered the theatre, theſe verſes were ſinging upon the ſtage:

———He comes, to whom we owe
Our liberty, the nobleſt good below.

All the Greeks caſt their eyes upon Philopœmen [g], and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expreſſed their veneration for the hero.

[h] In the ſame manner at Rome, during the baniſhment of Cicero, when ſome verſes of † Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in ſuffering the baniſhment of Telamon, were repeated by

[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 320. [g] Plut. in Philopœm. p. 362.
[h] Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123.

* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or poſterior to the death of Socrates.

† *O ingratifici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii,*
Exulare ſiviſtis, ſiviſtis pelli, pulſum patimini.

Æſop, the beſt actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole aſſembly.

Upon another, though very different, occaſion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great ſome verſes to this effect,

[1] 'Tis our happineſs has made thee great;

and then addreſſing to the people,

The time ſhall come when you ſhall late deplore
So great a power confided to ſuch hands;

the ſpectators obliged the actor to repeat theſe verſes ſeveral times.

Paſſion for the repreſentations of the Theatre, one of the principal cauſes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian ſtate.

When we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Aſia reſounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the later ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner ſubjected it, we ſhall be ſurprized at the ſtrange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is moſt material, is the knowledge of the cauſes and progreſs of this declenſion; and theſe M. de Tourreil has diſcuſſed in an admirable manner in the preface to his tranſlation of Demoſthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad ſucceſs. Inſtead of that, there remained only an inconſiſtent loftineſs, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more thoſe Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demoliſhed their houſes to build ſhips with the timber, and whoſe women ſtoned the abject wretch to death,

[1] Cic. ad. Attic. l. ii. Epiſ. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

who

who propoſed to appeaſe the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of eaſe and pleaſure had almoſt entirely extinguiſhed that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, ſo abſolute, that thoſe who envied him treated him as a ſecond Piſiſtratus, was the firſt author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the deſign of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained that upon ſuch days as games or ſacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them; and that in the aſſemblies, in which affairs of ſtate were to be tranſacted, every individual ſhould receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of preſence. Thus the members of the republic were ſeen for the firſt time to ſell their care in the adminiſtration of the government, and to rank amongſt ſervile employments the moſt noble functions of the ſovereign power.

It was not difficult to foreſee where ſo exceſſive an abuſe would end; and to remedy it, it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a fund, for the ſupport of a war, and to make it capital to adviſe, upon any account whatſoever, the application of it to other uſes: but, notwithſtanding, the abuſe always ſubſiſted. At firſt it ſeemed tolerable, whilſt the citizen, who was ſupported at the public expence, endeavoured to deſerve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to ſerve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deſerter without diſtinction: but at length the number of the tranſgreſſors carried it againſt the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accuſtomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feaſts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore neceſſary to find amuſement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive, uſeleſs life. Hence aroſe principally their paſſion, or

rather frenzy, for public ſhows. The death of Epaminondas, which ſeemed to promiſe them the greateſt advantage, gave the final ſtroke to their ruin and deſtruction. "Their courage," ſays Juſtin [k], "did not ſurvive that illuſtrious Theban. Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they ſunk into a lethargic ſloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and ſea were ſoon laviſhed upon games and feaſts. The ſeaman's and ſoldier's pay was diſtributed to the idle citizen, enervated in ſoft luxurious habits of life. The repreſentations of the theatre were preferred to the exerciſes of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely diſregarded. Great captains were in no eſtimation; whilſt good poets and excellent comedians engroſſed the univerſal applauſe."

Extravagance of this kind makes it eaſy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expence was ſpared in embelliſhing them, exorbitant ſums were ſunk in the ſervice of the theatre. "If," ſays Plutarch [l], "what each repreſentation of the dramatic pieces coſt the Athenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœnicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides) were greater than thoſe which had been employed againſt the Barbarians in defence of the liberty, and for the preſervation of Greece." [m] This gave a Spartan juſt reaſon to cry out on ſeeing an eſtimate of the enormous ſums laid out in the diſputes of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magiſtrates who preſided in them, "That a people muſt be void of ſenſe to apply themſelves in ſo warm and ſerious a manner to things ſo frivolous. For," added he, "games ſhould be only games; and nothing is more unreaſonable than to purchaſe a ſhort and trivial amuſement at ſo great a price. Pleaſures of this kind

[k] Juſtin. l. vi. c. 9. [l] Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 394.
[m] Plut. Sympoſ. l. vii. queſt. vii. p. 720.

agree

agree only with public rejoicings and ſeaſons of feſtivity, and were deſigned to divert people at their leiſure hours; but ſhould by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the neceſſary expences of the government."

"After all," ſays Plutarch, in a paſſage which I have already cited, "of what utility have theſe tragedies been to Athens, though ſo much boaſted by the people, and admired by the reſt of the world? We find, that, the prudence of Themiſtocles encloſed the city with ſtrong walls; that the fine taſte and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preſerved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece." If the wiſe and learned poetry of Euripides, the ſublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buſkin of Æſchylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I conſent (in Plutarch's words) that "dramatic pieces ſhould be ranked with trophies of victory, the poetic pieces with the fields of battle, and the compoſitions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals." But what a compariſon would this be? On the one ſide would be ſeen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims aſſigned them for excelling in tragic poetry; on the other, a train of illuſtrious captains, ſurrounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations ſubjected by their wiſdom and valour. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æſchylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamin, Eurymedon, and many others, that ſeveral feaſts are celebrated every month by the Grecians.

The concluſion of Plutarch from hence, in which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the higheſt imprudence in the * Athenians to prefer pleaſure to duty,

* Αμαρτανουσιν Ἀθηναοι μεγαλα, την σπουδην εις την παιδιαν καταναλισκοντες, τουτεστι μεγαλων αποστολων δαπανας ϗ στρατευματων εφοδια καταχορηγουντες εις το θεατρον.

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the paſſion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial repreſentations to the application to public buſineſs, and to conſume, in uſeleſs expences and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the ſupport of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obſcure and inconſiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the* Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, inſtructed by the Greeks themſelves, among whom he had for ſeveral years applied himſelf ſucceſsfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a maſter, and ſubjected it to the yoke, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

I am now to open an entirely new ſcene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curioſity and attention. We ſhall ſee two ſtates of no great conſideration, Media and Perſia, extend themſelves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent of devouring fire, and by amazing rapidity conquer and ſubdue many provinces and kingdoms. We ſhall ſee that vaſt empire ſetting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Perſians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and falling with all the forces of Aſia and the Eaſt upon a little country, of very ſmall extent, and deſtitute of all foreign aſſiſtance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold ſo many nations united together, ſuch preparations of war made for ſeveral years with ſo much diligence; innumerable armies by ſea and land, and ſuch fleets as the ſea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almoſt entirely to themſelves; have we not reaſon to believe, that theſe two little cities are going to be utterly deſtroyed and ſwallowed up by ſo formidable an enemy; and that there will not be ſo much as any footſteps of them left remaining? And yet we ſhall find that they prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and

* *Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter vitia Græcorum, ſordidum et obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obſes triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ et Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedoniæ Græcæ et Aſiæ cervicibus; velut jugum ſervitutis, imponeret.* Just. l. vi. c. 9.

the

the several battles they gained, both by sea and land, made the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever turning their arms against Greece any more.

The history of the war between the Persians and the Greeks, will illustrate the truth of this maxim, 'That it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions.' The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could deject, nor the greatest of misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with a handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who, notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality of forces, durst hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue; and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty; and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another amongst the Greeks themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence, and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity, who is fond of great events: in this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges, (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important related in ancient history) though several of these sieges were of considerable duration; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history? Sallust informs us in these words: "* The actions of the Athenians

* *Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicuti ego exiſtimo, ſatis amplæ magnificæque fuerent: verum aliquanto, minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi ſcriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur.*

nians doubtleſs were great, and yet I believe they were ſomewhat leſs than fame is for having us to conceive of them. But becauſe Athens had noble writers, the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole world as the moſt glorious; and the gallantry of thoſe heroes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be thought as tranſcendent as the eloquence of thoſe who have deſcribed them."

Salluſt, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a ſeries of diſtinguiſhed actions, with which their hiſtory abounds; yet he does juſtice in this paſſage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illuſtrious, though ſomewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed luſtre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their hiſtorians? It is, that the whole univerſe agrees in looking upon them as the greateſt and moſt glorious that ever were performed. "Per terrarum orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximus celebrantur." All nations, ſeduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits ſuperior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Salluſt, is the ſervice the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of deſcribing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our hiſtory, for want of the like aſſiſtance, has left a thouſand bright actions and fine ſayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the ſtrongeſt light by the ancient writers, and have done great honour to our country.

But, however this be, it muſt be confeſſed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the perſons who had ſhared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in ſuch little ſieges and engagements, as we find recorded in the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conſpicuous. Accordingly, it is ob-

lebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. SALLUST. in bell. Catilin.

ſerved,

ſerved, that it was chiefly at the head of ſmall armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our beſt generals of the laſt age diſtinguiſhed their capacity, and behaved with a conduct not inferior to the moſt celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this ſort, chance has no ſhare, and does not cover any overſights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the ſoul of the army, which neither acts nor moves, but by his direction. He ſees every thing, and is preſent every where. Nothing eſcapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are ſeaſonably given, and ſeaſonably executed. Fineſſe, ſtratagems, falſe marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments, in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account the reading of the Greek hiſtorians, ſuch as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite ſervice to young officers; becauſe thoſe hiſtorians, who were alſo excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were, by the hand, through all the ſieges and battles they deſcribe; ſhowing them, by the example of the greateſt generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian hiſtory affords us ſuch excellent models. We ſhall there find celebrated legiſlators, able politicians, magiſtrates born for government, men who have excelled in all arts and ſciences, philoſophers who carried their enquiries as far as was poſſible in thoſe early ages, and who have left us ſuch maxims of morality, as many Chriſtians ought to bluſh at.

If the virtues related in hiſtory may ſerve us for models in the conduct of our lives; their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no leſs proper to caution and inſtruct us; and the ſtrict regard, which an hiſtorian is obliged to have for truth, will not allow him to diſſemble the latter, out of fear of eclipſing the luſtre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rules

laid down by Plutarch[n], on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light: but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs, * considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes, that proceed from any corruption of the heart; such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly; in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor thinks himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows, that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed, or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as is in painting, which invented the † profile to represent the side-face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, that indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite an horror for vice; than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of vir-

[n] In Cim. p. 479, 480.

* Ελλείμματα μαλλον αρετης τινος η κακιας πεπηρώματα.

† *Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni dimidiato tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret.* QUINTIL. l. ii. c. 13.

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tue. And these, according to Tacitus*, are the two ends, which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create a greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

The history I write furnishes too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear by what is said of their kings, that those princes, whose power has no other bounds but those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that, even after having preserved themselves in the beginning, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise, and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion: scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will shew, how scandalously the Lacedæmoni-

* *Exequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore quod præcipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes silentur, atque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.* TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.

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ans and Athenians debaſed themſelves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how ſhamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their paſt labours and exploits, by ſtooping and making their court to certain haughty and inſolent ſatrapæ, and by going ſucceſſively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had ſo often conquered; and in what manner they employed the ſuccours they obtained from them, in oppreſſing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjuſt and violent methods.

On both ſides, and ſometimes in the ſame perſon, we ſhall find a ſurpriſing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean ſentiments; and ſometimes, perhaps, we ſhall be ready to aſk ourſelves, whether theſe can be the ſame perſons and the ſame people of whom ſuch different things are related; and whether it be poſſible that ſuch a bright and ſhining light, and ſuch thick clouds of ſmoke and darkneſs, can proceed from the ſame fund? I relate things as I find them in ancient authors, and the pictures I preſent the reader with are always drawn after thoſe original monuments which hiſtory has tranſmitted to us, concerning the perſons I ſpeak of; and I might likewiſe add, after human nature itſelf. But in my opinion even this medley of good and evil may be of great advantage to us, and ſerve as a preſervative againſt a danger ſufficiently common and natural.

For if we found, either in any nation or particular perſons, a probity and nobleneſs of ſentiments always uniform and free from all blemiſh and weakneſs, we ſhould be tempted to believe that heatheniſm is capable of producing real and perfect virtues; though our religion teaches us, that thoſe virtues we moſt admire among the heathens, are really no more than the ſhadow and appearance of them. But when we ſee the defects and imperfections, the vices and crimes, and thoſe ſometimes of the blackeſt die, that are intermixed with them, and often very cloſely follow their moſt virtuous actions; we

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are taught to moderate our eſteem and admiration of them, and at the ſame time that we commend what appears noble, worthy, and great, among the Pagans, not prodigally to pay to the phantom of virtue, that entire and unreſerved homage which is only due to virtue itſelf.

With theſe reſtrictions I deſire to be underſtood, when I praiſe the great men of antiquity, and their illuſtrious actions, and if, contrary to my intention, any expreſſions ſhould eſcape me, which may ſeem to exceed theſe bounds, I deſire the reader to interpret them candidly, and reduce them to their juſt value and meaning.

The Perſian hiſtory includes the ſpace of one hundred and ſeventeen years, during the reigns of ſix kings of Perſia: Darius, the firſt of the name, the ſon of Ayſtaſpes; Xerxes the firſt; Artaxerxes, ſurnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the ſecond; Sogdianus; (the two laſt of which reigned but a very little time;) and Darius the ſecond, commonly called Darius Nothus. This hiſtory begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itſelf into two parts, I ſhall alſo divide it into two diſtinct books.

The firſt part, which conſiſts of ninety years, contains from the beginning of the reign of Darius the firſt, to the forty-ſecond year of Artaxerxes, the ſame year in which the Peloponneſian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterpriſes and expeditions of the Perſians againſt Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever diſplayed more conſpicuous or more ſolid virtues. Here you will ſee the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemiſa, Salamin, Platæ, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the moſt eminent commanders of Greece ſignalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Pauſanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more eaſily to recollect what paſſed within the ſpace of time among the Jews, and alſo among the Romans, the hiſtory of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Perſians and Greeks.

Greeks, I ſhall here ſet down in few words the principal epochas relating to them.

Epochas of the Jewiſh hiſtory.

The people of God were at this time returned from their Babyloniſh captivity to Jeruſalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Uſher is of opinion, that the hiſtory of Eſther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Iſraelites, under the ſhadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at laſt finiſh the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no leſs favourable to the Jews than Darius: he firſt of all ſent Ezra to Jeruſalem, who reſtored the public worſhip, and the obſervation of the law; then Nehemiah, who cauſed walls to be built round the city, and fortified it againſt the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatneſs. It is thought that Malachi, the laſt of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he propheſied not long after him.

This interval of the ſacred hiſtory extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to ſay, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the ſcripture is entirely ſilent till the time of the Maccabees.

Epochas of the Roman Hiſtory.

The firſt year of Darius was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was depoſed, when the conſular government was ſubſtituted to that of the kings. In the ſucceeding part of this period happened the war againſt Porſenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volſci, and the war that enſued thereupon; the wars of the Romans againſt the Latins, the Vejentes, the Volſci, and other neigh-

neighbouring nations: the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 392d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the nineteen first years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veji, which lasted ten years.

[s] Eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclides, that is, the descendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two of them, who were brothers, Euristhenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together. [r] Herodotus observes, that these two brothers were, during their whole lives at variance; and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy; so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptre jointly; and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclides into the Peloponnesus, to the death of Cleomenes,

[s] A. M. 2900. Ant. J. C. 1104. [r] Lib. vi. c. 50.

and

and ſupplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular ſucceſſion from father to ſon, eſpecially in the elder branch of the family.

The Origin and Condition of the Elotæ, or Helots.

When the Lacedæmonians firſt began to ſettle in Peloponneſus, they met with great oppoſition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to ſubdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on eaſy and equitable terms, as the paying them a ſmall tribute. Strabo[a] ſpeaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having ſubmitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refuſed to pay the tribute. Agis, the ſon of Euriſthenes, newly ſettled in the throne, was ſenſible of the dangerous tendency of this firſt revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army againſt them, together with Soüs, his colleague. They laid ſiege to the city, which, after a pretty long reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This prince thought it proper to make ſuch an example of them, as ſhould intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reaſon he put none to death. He ſpared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the ſame time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a ſtate of ſlavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and ſervile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. Theſe were the people who were called Elotæ. The number of them exceedingly increaſed in proceſs of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the ſame name to all the people they reduced to the ſame condition of ſervitude. As they themſelves were averſe to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to theſe ſlaves, aſſigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, of which they were obliged to carry the products every year to their reſpec-

[a] Lib. viii. p. 365. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.

tive

tive maſters, who endeavoured by all ſorts of ill uſage to make their yoke more grievous and inſupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vaſt number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the ſtate, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occaſion. The Romans acted more prudently in this reſpect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their ſtate, by aſſociating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them, from enemies, into brethren and fellow-citizens.

Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian lawgiver.

[t] Eurytion, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, ſucceeded Soüs. In order to gain his people's affection, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede in ſome points, from the abſolute power exerciſed by the kings his predeceſſors: this rendered his name ſo dear to his ſubjects, that all his ſucceſſors were, from him, called Eurytionides. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confuſion, and an unbounded licentiouſneſs in Sparta, and for a long time occaſioned infinite miſchiefs. The people became ſo inſolent, that nothing could reſtrain them. If Eurytion's ſucceſſors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if through complaiſance or weakneſs, they choſe to diſſemble, their mildneſs ſerved only to render them contemptible; ſo that order was in a manner aboliſhed, and the laws no longer regarded. Theſe confuſions haſtened the death of Lycurgus's father, whoſe name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an inſurrection. Polydectes, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, dying ſoon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was ſo in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as ſoon as that was manifeſt, he declared, that the kingdom belonged to her child, in caſe it proved a ſon: and from that moment he adminiſtered the government, as guardian

[t] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 40.

to

to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that were present, "Behold, my lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king:" and at the same time he put the infant into the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find, in the second volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agesilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

War between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians.

Some time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men on both sides; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the side of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot; and only the night parted them. The two Argives looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news: the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying

[a] Herod. l. i. c. 82.

their

their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his poſt. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both ſides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives, becauſe they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, becauſe the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their ſingle ſoldier had remained maſter of the field of battle, and had carried off the ſpoils of the enemy: in ſhort, they could not determine the diſpute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of ſurviving his brave companions, or of enduring the ſight of Sparta after their death, killed himſelf on the ſame field of battle where they had fought, reſolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

Wars between the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians.

There were no leſs than three ſeveral wars between the Meſſenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Meſſenia was a country in Peloponneſus, not far weſtward from Sparta; it was of conſiderable ſtrength, and had its own particular kings.

The firſt Meſſenian war.

[x] The firſt Meſſenian war laſted twenty years, and broke out the ſecond year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received ſeveral conſiderable injuries from the Meſſenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters raviſhed by the inhabitants of Meſſenia, when they went, according to cuſtom, to a temple, that ſtood on the borders of the two nations: as alſo that of the murder of Teleclus, their king, which was a conſequence of the former. Pro-

[x] A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743. Pauſan. l. iv. p. 216—240. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 4.

bably

bably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was still decennial.

[y] Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, a small inconsiderable city, which however, they thought, would be very proper to make a place of arms. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians; such an assurance had they of the success of their arms, and of their invincible courage.

[z] Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was pretty equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought the plague among them.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle of Delphos, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon all their towns, except Ithoma, a little place seated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight

[y] Pausan. l. iv. p. 223—226. [z] Ibid. p. 227—234.

skirmishes

skirmiſhes on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians, not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed, they almoſt deſpaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themſelves, that made them continue ſo burthenſome a war. [a] What gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs, was, their apprehenſion, leſt their abſence and diſtance from their wives for ſo many years, and which might ſtill continue many more, ſhould deſtroy their families at home, and leave Sparta deſtitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they ſent home ſuch of their ſoldiers as were come to the army ſince the forementioned oath had been taken, and made no ſcruple of proſtituting their wives to their embraces. The children that ſprung from theſe unlawful copulations, were called Partheniatæ, a name given to them to denote the infamy of their birth. As ſoon as they were grown up, not being able to endure ſuch an opprobrious diſtinction, they baniſhed themſelves from Sparta, with one conſent, and, under the conduct of *Phalanthus, went and ſettled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

[b] At laſt, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma. Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precepitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, ſeveral of which were mortal. He fell, and ſeemed to give up the ghoſt. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both ſides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to ſave him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and ſpoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the cuſtody of ſome of his ſoldiers. He himſelf received ſeveral wounds all in the fore part of his body, which was a certain proof, that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Ariſtomenes,

[a] Diod. l. xv. p. 778. [b] Pauſan. l. iv. p. 234, 235. Diod. in Frag.
* *Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto.* Hor. Od. vi. l. 2.

fighting on the ſame occaſion, and for the ſame end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whoſe ſpoils he likewiſe carried off without receiving any wound. In ſhort, the king was ſaved and carried off by the Meſſenians; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expreſſed great joy that they had not been worſted. Ariſtomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who by reaſon of his wounds, could neither walk by himſelf nor with the aſſiſtance of thoſe who lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his ſhoulders, without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As ſoon as they had applied the firſt dreſſing to the wounds of the king of Meſſenia and his officers, there aroſe a new combat among the Meſſenians, that was purſued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the conſequence of the other. The affair in queſtion was the adjudging the prize of glory to him that had ſignalized his valour moſt in the late engagement. For it was even then an ancient cuſtom among them, publicly to proclaim, after a battle, the name of the man that had ſhowed the greateſt courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and ſoldiers, to inſpire them with reſolution and intrepidity, and to ſtifle the natural apprehenſion of death and danger. Two illuſtrious champions entered the liſts on this occaſion, namely, Cleonnis and Ariſtomenes.

The king, notwithſtanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, preſided in the council, where this important diſpute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cauſe. Cleonnis began, and founded his pretenſions upon the great number of the enemies he had ſlain, and upon the multitudes of wounds he had received in the action, which were ſo many undoubted teſtimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas, according to him, the condition in which Ariſtomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, ſeemed to ſhow that

that he had been very careful of his own perſon, or at moſt, could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave or courageous. And as to his having carried him on his ſhoulders into the camp, that action indeed might ſerve to prove the ſtrength of his body, but nothing further: and the thing in diſpute at this time, ſays he, is not ſtrength but valour.

The only thing Ariſtomenes was reproached for, was his not being wounded; therefore he confined himſelf to that point, and anſwered in the following manner: "I am," ſays he, "called fortunate, becauſe I have eſcaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I ſhould deſerve another epithet than that of fortunate; and inſtead of being admitted to diſpute the prize, ought to undergo the rigour of the laws, that puniſh cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greateſt glory. For, whether my enemies, aſtoniſhed at my valour, durſt not venture to attack or oppoſe me, it is no ſmall degree of merit, that I made them fear me; or, that whilſt they engaged me, I had at the ſame time ſtrength to cut them in pieces, and ſkill to guard againſt their attacks, I muſt then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midſt of an engagement, can expoſe himſelf to dangers with caution and ſecurity, ſhows, that he excels at the ſame time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but for his honour's ſake, I am ſorry that he ſhould appear to want gratitude."

After the concluſion of theſe harangues, the queſtion was put to the vote. The whole army is in ſuſpenſe, and impatiently waits for the deciſion. No diſpute could be ſo warm and intereſting as this. It is not a competition for gold or ſilver, but ſolely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure diſintereſted glory. Here the judges are unſuſpected. The actions of the competitors ſtill ſpeak for them. It is the king himſelf, ſurrounded with his officers, who preſides and adjudges.

A whole,

A whole army are the witneſſes. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In ſhort, all the votes concurred in favour of Ariſtomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

[c] Euphaes, the king, died not many days after the deciſion of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Meſſenians at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in oppoſition to Ariſtomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not ſcruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the ſtate; All ſtrongly attached to the public good, even more than to their own glory, competitors, but not enemies, theſe great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adverſaries to one another, but for its preſervation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monſieur Boivin*, the elder, and have made uſe of his learned diſſertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He ſuppoſes, and proves in it, that the king ſpoken of in that fragment, is Euphaes; and that Ariſtomenes is the ſame that Pauſanias calls Ariſtodemus, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, who were often called by two different names.

Ariſtomenes, otherwiſe called Ariſtodemus, reigned near ſeven years, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by his ſubjects. [d] The war ſtill continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king, Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter and Ithoma, ſacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Ariſtodemus ſacrificed himſelf upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the

[c] Pauſan. l. iv. p. 235—241.

[d] Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 20. Euſeb. in Præpar. l. iv. c. 16.

* Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. II. p. 84—115.

anſwer

anſwer of an oracle. Damis was his ſucceſſor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

[e] After his death, the Meſſenians never had any ſucceſs in their affairs, but found themſelves in a very wretched and hopeleſs condition. Being reduced to the laſt extremity, and utterly deſtitute of proviſions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to ſuch of their allies as were neareſt to them. The city was immediately razed, and all the people that remained ſubmitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forſake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them: a very uſeful precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new maſters impoſed no tribute upon them; but contented themſelves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they ſhould reap every harveſt. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Meſſenians, both men and women, ſhould attend, in mourning, the funerals either of the kings, or chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of the others dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. [f] Thus ended the firſt Meſſenian war, after having laſted twenty years.

The ſecond Meſſenian war.

[g] The lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Meſſenians, at firſt, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had ſubmitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of inſolence and haughtineſs, that often degenerated into cruelty, and ſometimes even into ferocity. Inſtead of treating the vanquiſhed with kindneſs, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win thoſe they had ſubdued by force, they ſeemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole

[e] Pauſan. l. iv. p. 241—247. [f] A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723.
[g] Ibid. p. 242, 261. Juſtin, l. iii. c. 5.

weight of ſubjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of thoſe taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no juſtice, treated them like vile ſlaves, and committed the moſt crying outrages againſt them.

Man who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himſelf to ſervitude: the moſt gentle ſlavery exaſperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from ſo cruel a one, as that the Meſſenians groaned under? After having endured it with great uneaſineſs * near forty years, they reſolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty. [b] This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad: the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anixidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Meſſenians firſt care was to ſtrengthen themſelves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. Theſe they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own intereſts. For it was not without jealouſy and apprehenſions, that they ſaw ſo powerful a city riſing up in the midſt of them, which manifeſtly ſeemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the reſt. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Meſſenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians. Ariſtomenes, † the ſecond of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beat in this engagement. Ariſtomenes, to give the enemy at firſt an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the ſucceſs of future enterpriſes, boldly ventured to enter into

[b] A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.

* *Cum per complures annos gravia ſervitutis verbera plerumque ac vincula cæteraque captivitatis mala perpeſſi eſſent, poſt longam pœnarum patientiam bellum inſtaurant.* JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 5.

† According to ſeveral hiſtorians, there was another Ariſtomenes in the firſt Meſſenian war. DIOD. l. xv. p. 378.

Sparta

Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Chalcioecos, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying, that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at the request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours; and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general: on the other, they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a person called Tyrtæus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his wit, and disagreeable in his person; for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general, sent them by heaven itself. Their success did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtæus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He spoke to the troops, and repeated to them the verses he had made on the occasion, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only

to ill-fortune, or to fate, which no human wiſdom can ſurmount. He then repreſented to them, what a ſhame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to periſh ſword in hand, in fighting for their country, if it was ſo decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vaniſhed, and the gods, fully ſatisfied and appeaſed with their late calamities, were entirly turned to their ſide, he ſet victory before their eyes as preſent and certain, and as if ſhe herſelf were inviting them to battle. [1] All the ancient authors, who have made any mention of the ſtyle and character of Tyrtæus's poetry, obſerve, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthuſiaſm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themſelves, that inſpired* them with ſomething generous and martial, that extinguiſhed all fear and apprehenſion of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preſervation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtæus's verſes had really this effect on the ſoldiers upon this occaſion. They all deſired, with one voice, to march againſt the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to ſecure themſelves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied ſtrings round their right arms, on which were inſcribed their own and their fathers names, that if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces ſo altered through time or accidents, as not to be diſtinguiſhable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by theſe marks. Soldiers determined to die, are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that enſued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time diſputed on both ſides; but at laſt the Meſſenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greateſt marks of diſtinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already laſted three years. Ariſtomenes,

[1] Plat. l. i. de Legib. p. 620. Plut. in Agid. et Cleom. p. 805.

* *Tyrtæuſque mares animos in martia bella*
Verſibus exacuit. Hor. in Art. Poet.

having

having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault; but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of bravery. He was at last obliged to quit it, only by surprise and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the helots or slaves. The rest seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messana; the same place called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

* The second Messenian war was of fourteen years duration, and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad.

There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at a time, and on the occasion of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

The history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

This history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy, and perfidious conduct; treason, ingratitude, and crying abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, and utter oblivion of the natural senti-

* A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.

ments

ments of probity and honour, with the violation of all laws human and divine, will riſe before us. We ſhall behold nothing but fatal diſſentions, deſtructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men, originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the ſame country, companions in the ſame dangers, and inſtruments in the accompliſhment of the ſame exploits and victories, will conſpire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expence of their blood. We ſhall ſee the captains of Alexander ſacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, the ſiſters of that prince, to their own ambition; and without ſparing even thoſe to whom they either owed, or gave life. We ſhall no longer behold thoſe glorious times of Greece, that were once ſo productive of great men, and great examples; or, if we ſhould happen to diſcover ſome traces and remains of them, they will only reſemble the gleams of lightning that ſhoot along in a rapid track, and are only remarkable from the profound darkneſs that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myſelf to be ſufficiently ſenſible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to repreſent human nature in ſuch colours and lineaments as diſhonour her, and which occaſion inevitable diſtaſte and a ſecret affliction in the minds of thoſe who are made ſpectators of ſuch a picture. Hiſtory loſes whatever is moſt affecting and moſt capable of conveying pleaſure and inſtruction, when ſhe can only produce thoſe effects, by inſpiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a repreſentation of the calamities which uſually ſucceed them, and are to be conſidered as their juſt puniſhment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any conſiderable time, on objects which only raiſe his indignation, and it would be affronting him, to ſeem deſirous of diſſuading him from the exceſs of inordinate paſſions, of which he conceives himſelf incapable.

What means is there to preſerve and diffuſe the agreeable through a narration, which has nothing to offer but an uniform ſeries of vices and great crimes; and which makes it neceſſary to enter into a particular detail of the actions

actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very names should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to secure themselves some portion, greater or less of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, and they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each particular. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in a prodigious variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius and Plutarch lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors,

ceſſors, whoſe tranſactions are, perhaps, the moſt complicated and perplexed part of ancient hiſtory, Uſher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my uſual guides; and, on many occaſions, I ſhall only tranſcribe from Prideaux; but with all theſe aids, I ſhall not promiſe to throw ſo much light into this hiſtory as I could deſire.

After a war of twenty years, the number of the principal competitors were reduced to four; Ptolemy, Caſſander, Seleucus, and Lyſimachus: the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a ſolemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of theſe kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria, or Aſia, will have a regular ſucceſſion of monarchs, ſufficiently clear and diſtinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Leſſer Aſia, and ſome neighbouring provinces, will ſuffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was ſubject to the fewest changes, becauſe Ptolemy, who was eſtabliſhed there as a governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the poſſeſſion of it ever after, and left it to his poſterity: we ſhall, therefore, conſider this prince as the baſis of our chronology, and our ſeveral epochas ſhall be fixed from him.

The fifth volume contains the events for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, under the four firſt kings of Egypt, viz. Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty; Ptolemy Evergetes, who reigned twenty-five; and Ptolemy Philopator, whoſe reign continued ſeventeen.

In order to throw ſome light into the hiſtory contained therein, I ſhall, in the firſt place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I muſt deſire the reader to accompany me in ſome reflections, which have not eſcaped Monſieur Boſſuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the moſt renowned and illuſtrious conqueror in all hiſtory, was the laſt monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his anceſtors had

had governed for many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succeſſion; and after it had long been a prey to the ſtrongeſt, it was at laſt transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued pacific in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains; and he might have tranſmitted the ſceptre of his progenitors to his own deſcendants: but, as he had not preſcribed any bounds to his power, he was inſtrumental in the deſtruction of his houſe, and we ſhall behold the extermination of his family, without the leaſt remaining traces of them in hiſtory. His conqueſts occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of blood, and furniſhed his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. Theſe were the effects that flowed from the boaſted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the glittering names of ambition and glory, ſpread the deſolations of fire and ſword through whole provinces, without the leaſt provocation, and ſhed the blood of multitudes, who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that providence abandoned theſe events to chance, but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Meſſiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations, that were to be firſt enlightened with the goſpel, by the uſe of one and the ſame language, which was that of Greece: and the ſame providence made it neceſſary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by ſubjecting them to ſuch maſters as ſpoke no other. The deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and univerſal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apoſtles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great, among the generals of that prince immediately after his death, did not ſubſiſt for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf, and on the throne of which he always maintained himſelf without acknowledging any ſuperior.

[1] This partition was not fully regulated and fixed, till

[1] A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

after the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius, ſurnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former loſt his life. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a ſolemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœloſyria, and Paleſtine. Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lyſimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and ſome other provinces on the other ſide of the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of Aſia Major, which extended to the other ſide of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of theſe four kingdoms, thoſe of Egypt and Syria ſubſiſted, almoſt without any interruption, in the ſame families, and through a long ſucceſſion of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had ſeveral maſters of different families ſucceſſively. That of Thrace was at laſt divided into ſeveral branches, and no longer conſtituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular ſucceſſion ceaſed to ſubſiſt.

I. *The kingdom of Egypt.*

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whoſe death, thoſe dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All theſe princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar ſurname. They had alſo the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the firſt in Egypt. The fifth and ſixth volumes contains the hiſtories of ſix of theſe kings, and I ſhall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the firſt of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

[m] Ptolemy Stoter. He reigned thirty-eight years and ſome months.

[n] Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the lifetime of his father.

[m] A. M. 3680. [n] 3718.

Ptolemy

[o] Ptolemy Evergetes reigned twenty-five years.
[p] Ptolemy Philopator reigned seventeen.
[q] Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned twenty-four.
[r] Ptolemy Philometor reigned thirty-four.

II. *The kingdom of Syria.*

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short: and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called Seleucides, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last was called Antiochus XIII. with the surnames of Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenes. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings, for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the fifth and sixth volumes, are eight in number.

[s] Seleucus Nicanor. He reigned twenty years.
[t] Antiochus Soter, nineteen.
[u] Antiochus Theos, fifteen.
[x] Seleucus Callinicus, twenty.
[y] Seleucus Ceraunus, three.
[z] Antiochus the Great, thirty-six.
[a] Seleucus Philopator, twelve.
[b] Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, eleven.

III. *The kingdom of Macedonia.*

[c] Macedonia frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four

[o] A. M. 3758. [p] 3783. [q] 3800. [r] 3824. [s] 3704. [t] 3724.
[u] 3743. [x] 3758. [y] 3778. [z] 3781. [a] 3817. [b] 3829. [c] 3707.

princes.

princes. Caſſander died three or four years after the partition, and left three ſons. Philip, the eldeſt, died preſently after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying ſoon after without iſſue.

[d] Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lyſimachus, made themſelves maſters of all, or the greateſt part of Macedonia; ſometimes in conjunction, and at other times ſeparately.

[e] After the death of Lyſimachus, Seleucus poſſeſſed himſelf of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.

[f] Ptolemy Ceraunus having ſlain the preceding prince, ſeized the kingdom, and poſſeſſed it alone but a very ſhort time, having loſt his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

[g] Soſthenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a ſhort time in Macedonia.

[h] Antigonus Gonatas, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtained the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Macedonia, and tranſmitted thoſe dominions to his deſcendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a ſon named Philip, who was but two years old.

Antigonus Doſon reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

Philip, after the death of Antigonus, aſcended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned ſomething more than forty.

His ſon Perſeus ſucceeded him, and reigned about eleven years. He was defeated and taken priſoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in conſequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. *The kingdom of Thrace and Bithynia*, &c.

This fourth kingdom, compoſed of ſeveral ſeparate provinces, very remote from one another, had not any

[d] A. M. 3710. [e] 3725. [f] 3724. [g] 3726. [h] 3728.

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of princes, and did not long ſubſiſt in its firſt condition: Lyſimachus, who firſt obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by aſſaſſinations, his dominions were diſmembered, and no longer conſtituted one kingdom.

Beſides the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different and independent Grecian ſtates, whoſe power greatly increaſed in proceſs of time.

Kings of Bithynia.

Whilſt Alexander was extending his conqueſts in the Eaſt, Zypethes had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithynia. It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unleſs we may conjecture with Pauſanias, that he was a Thracian. His ſucceſſors however are better known.

Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to aſſiſt him againſt his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.

Pruſias I.

Pruſias II. Surnamed the Hunter, in whoſe court Hannibal took refuge, and aſſiſted him with his counſels, in his war againſt Eumenes II. king of Pergamus.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his ſon Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was aſſiſted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a teſtimonial of his gratitude to them: by which means theſe territories became a Roman province.

Kings of Pergamus.

This kingdom comprehended only one of the ſmalleſt provinces of Myſia, on the coaſt of the Ægean ſea againſt the iſland of Leſbos.

This

This kingdom was founded by Philatera, an eunuch who had been a ſervant to Docima, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lyſimachus confided to him the treaſures he had depoſited in the caſtle of the city of Pergamus, and he became maſter both of theſe and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little ſovereignty for the ſpace of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of ſeveral cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twelve years.

He was ſucceeded by Attalus I. his couſin-german, who aſſumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians; and he tranſmitted his dominions to his poſterity, who enjoyed them to the third generation. He aſſiſted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four ſons.

His ſucceſſor was Eumenes II. his eldeſt ſon, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in quality of guardian to one of his ſons, whom he had by Stratonice, the ſiſter of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions conſiderably, after the victory they obtained over Antiochus the Great.

[i] Attalus II. eſpouſed Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

[k] Attalus III. ſurnamed Philometer, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

[l] Ariſtonicus, who claimed the ſucceſſion, endeavoured to defend his pretenſions againſt the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

[i] A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. [k] A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 133.
[l] A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 138.

Kings

Kings of Pontus.

[n]The kingdom of Pontus in Asia Minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said, by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Asia Minor, and is situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea *(Pontus Euxinus)* from which it derives its name. It extends as far as the river Halys, and even to Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

[o]The sixth monarch was Mithridates I. who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

[p]He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and reigned twenty-six years.

[q]His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonus suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτίστης, or *The Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

[r]Mithridates III. succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years.

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates, the great grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

[s]He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He

[n] A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.
[o] A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.
[q] A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.
[n] A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.
[p] A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.
[s] A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.

made

made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V. and the first who was called a friend to the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the first Punic war.

[a] He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupater. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans, and reigned sixty-six years.

Kings of Cappadocia.

Strabo[c] informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: the other tracts constituted Cappadocia properly so called, or the Cappadocia Major, which extends along Mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

[b] When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father some time after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

Kings of Armenia.

Armenia, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians:

[a] A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. [c] Strab. l. xii. p. 534.
[b] A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.

after

after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one, and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

Kings of Epirus.

Epirus is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country, and called themselves Æacides, from Æacus the grandfather of Achilles.

[x] The genealogy of the last kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be dubious and obscure.

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings, and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depended on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning effectually, and* as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

[x] Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plut. in Pyrrho.

* *Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit.* Justin. l. xvii. c. 3.

Neoptolemus,

Neoptolemus, whoſe daughter Olympias had eſpouſed Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal ſhare in the regal government of Arymbas his elder brother, by the credit of his ſon-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, Æacides his ſon ought to have been his ſucceſſor; but Philip had ſtill the credit to procure his expulſion from the kingdom by the Moloſſians, who eſtabliſhed Alexander the ſon of Neoptolemus ſole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander eſpouſed Cleopatra the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he loſt his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacides then aſcended the throne, and reigned without any aſſociate in Epirus. He eſpouſed Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Theſſalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troida, and one ſon, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the aſſiſtance of Olympias, his troops mutinied againſt him, condemned him to exile, and ſlaughtered moſt of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily eſcaped this maſſacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whoſe particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his ſubjects at the age of twelve years, firſt ſhared the ſovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards diveſted him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

[7] This hiſtory will treat of the various adventues of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himſelf maſter of it.

Helenus his ſon reigned after him for ſome time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

Tyrants of Heraclea.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bœotians, who ſent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

[7] A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.

When

[a] When the Athenians were victorious over the Perſians, and had impoſed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Aſia Minor, for the fitting out and ſupport of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in conſequence of their attachment to the Perſians, were the only people who refuſed to acquieſce in ſo juſt a contribution. Lamachus was therefore ſent againſt them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempeſt having deſtroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himſelf abandoned to the mercy of that people, whoſe natural ferocity might well have been increaſed, by the ſevere treatment they had lately received. But * they had recourſe to no other vengeance but benefactions; they furniſhed him with proviſions and troops for his return, and were willing to conſider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if they acquired the friendſhip of the Athenians at that price.

[b] Some time after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion againſt the rich citizens and ſenators, who having implored aſſiſtance to no effect, firſt from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were neceſſitated to recal Clearchus a ſenator to their defence, whom themſelves had baniſhed; but his exile had neither improved his morals nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, ſubſervient to his deſign of ſubjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, cauſed himſelf to be inveſted with the higheſt office in the magiſtracy, and aſſumed a ſovereign authority in a ſhort time. Being thus become a profeſſed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourſe againſt the rich and the ſena-

[a] Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xv. c. 390.

[b] A. M. 3640. Ant. J. C. 364.

* *Heraclienſes honeſtiorem beneficii, quam ultiones occaſionem rati, inſtructos commeatibus auxiliiſque dimittunt; bene agrorum ſuorum populationem impenſam exiſtimentes ſi, quos hoſtes habuerant amicos redidiſſent.* JUSTIN.

tors,

tors, to ſatiate his avarice and cruelty. He propoſed for his model Dionyſius the Tyrant, who had eſtabliſhed his power over the Syracuſans at the ſame time.

After a hard and inhuman ſervitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's diſciples, and had been inſtructed in his maxims, formed a conſpiracy againſt Clearchus, and ſlew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny ſtill ſubſiſted.

[b] Timotheus, the ſon of Clearchus, aſſumed his place, and purſued his conduct for the ſpace of fifteen years.

[c] He was ſucceeded by his brother Dionyſius, who was in danger of being diſpoſſeſſed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this laſt was ſoon deſtroyed, [d] Dionyſius contracted a friendſhip with Antigonus, whom he aſſiſted againſt Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He eſpouſed Amaſtris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inſpired him with ſo much courage, that he aſſumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of ſeveral places which he ſeized on the confines of Heraclea.

[e] He died two or three years before the battle of Ipſus, and after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two ſons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amaſtris.

This princeſs was rendered happy in her adminiſtration by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her name; after which ſhe tranſplanted thither the inhabitants of three other cities, and eſpouſed Lyſimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

Kings of Syracuſe.

[f] Hiero, and his ſon Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuſe; the firſt fifty-four years, the ſecond but one year.

[b] A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.
[c] A. M. 3067. Ant. J. C. 337. Diod. l. xvi p. 435.
[d] Ibid. p. 478. [e] A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. [f] A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.

Syracuſe

[a] Syracuſe recovered its liberty by the death of the laſt, but continued in the intereſt of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had cauſed it to eſpouſe. [b] His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the ſiege of that city, which he took the following year. I ſhall enlarge upon the hiſtory of theſe two kings in another place.

Other Kings.

Several kings likewiſe reigned in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, as alſo in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their hiſtory is very uncertain, and their ſucceſſions have but little regularity.

Theſe circumſtances are very different with reſpect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themſelves, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, into ſuch a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the ſame period; I ſhall treat of each in their proper places.

[a] A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. [b] A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 213.

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BOOK THE FIRST.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS.

I SHALL divide what I have to ſay upon the Egyptians into three parts. The firſt contains a conciſe deſcription of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is moſt remarkable in it. In the ſecond I treat of the cuſtoms, laws, and religion of the Egyptians: and in the third, I give the hiſtory of their kings.

PART THE FIRST.

The Deſcription of Egypt: with an Account of whatever is moſt curious and remarkable in that Country.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a * prodigious number of cities, and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the eaſt by the Red-Sea and the Iſthmus of Suez; on the ſouth by Ethiopia, on the weſt by Lybia, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from ſouth to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is encloſed on each ſide with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the

* It is related that under Amaſis, there were twenty thouſand inhabited cities in *Egypt.* Herr. l. ii. c. 177.

hills

hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground, not above half a day's journey in length *, and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damiata, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi or districts it contained; Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red-Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. [a] Under Sesostris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia; and in the days of Augustus were the boundaries of the Roman empire: *Claustra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. Lib. ii. Cap. 61.

CHAP. I.

THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, [b] are universally known; and acquired it the surname of Hecatompylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. [c] It was equally large and populous; and, according to history, could send out at once two hundred chariots and ten thousand fighting men at each of its gates. [d] The Greeks and Romans have celebrated

* A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 English miles and a quarter.

[a] Strabo. l. 17, p. 787. [b] Hom. Il. 1 ver. 381. [c] Strab. l. xvii. p. 816. [d] Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

Rollin's Anc. Hist. Vol. I.

ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

Published 20. June 1740 by T. & P. Knapton.

its magnificence and grandeur, though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.

[e] In Thebes, now called Said, have been discovered temples and palaces which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues. One palace especially is admired, the remains whereof seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve for avenues to four porticoes, whose height is amazing to behold. Besides, they who give us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half; however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by an hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. [f] Strabo, who was on the spot describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.

The same [g] author, describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. It is said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate sound *. And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

[e] Thevenot's Travels. [f] Lib. xvii. p. 805. [g] p. 816.

* *Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est vocalem sonum reddens, &c.* TACIT. Annul. l. ii. c. 61.

CHAP. II.

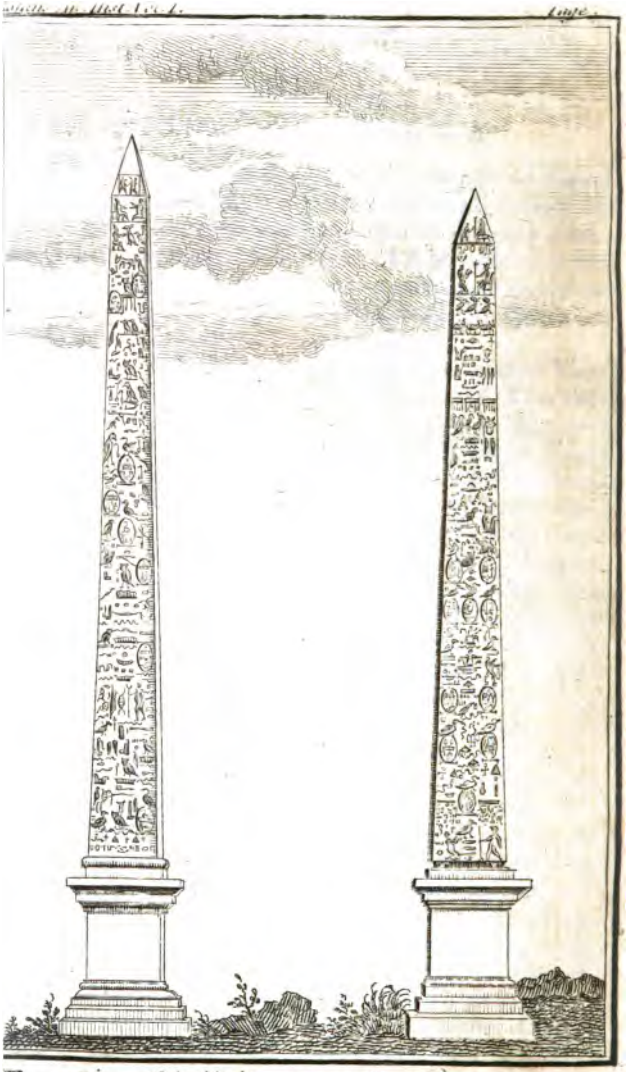
Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. Here were many ſtately temples, eſpecially that of the god Apis, who was honoured in this city after a particular manner. I ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which ſtood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it ſo famous. Memphis was ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Nile.

[h] Grand Cairo, which ſeems to have ſucceeded Memphis, was built on the other ſide of that river. The caſtle of Cairo is one of the greateſt curioſities in Egypt. It ſtands on a hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is ſurrounded with walls of a vaſt height and ſolidity. You go up to the caſtle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is ſo eaſy of aſcent, that loaded horſes and camels get up without difficulty. The greateſt rarity in this caſtle is Joſeph's well, ſo called, either becauſe the Egyptians are pleaſed with aſcribing their moſt remarkable particulars to that great man, or becauſe there is really ſuch a tradition in the country. This is a proof, at leaſt, that the work in queſtion is very ancient; and it is certainly worthy the magnificence of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two ſtories, cut out of the rock to a prodigious depth. One deſcends to the reſervoir of water, between the two wells, by a ſtair-caſe ſeven or eight feet broad, conſiſting of two hundred and twenty ſteps, and ſo contrived, that the oxen, employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable eaſe, the deſcent being ſcarce perceptible. The well is ſupplied from a ſpring, which is almoſt the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which buckets are faſtened. The water thus drawn from the firſt and lowermoſt well, is conveyed by a little canal, into a reſervoir, which forms the ſecond well; from

[h] Thevenot.

whence



Egyptian Obelisks now at Rome

Publish'd Febr. 1st 1754. by J. & P. Knapton

whence it is drawn to the top in the ſame manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the caſtle. As this well is ſuppoſed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deſerve a place among the curioſities of ancient Egypt.

[i] Strabo ſpeaks of ſuch an engine, which, by wheels and pullies, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a vaſt high hill; with this difference, that inſtead of oxen, a hundred and fifty ſlaves were employed to turn theſe wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we ſpeak, is famous for ſeveral rarities, each of which deſerves a particular examination. I ſhall relate only the principal, ſuch as the obeliſks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECT. I. *The Obeliſks.*

EGYPT ſeemed to place its chief glory in raiſing monuments for poſterity. Its obeliſks form at this day, on account of their beauty, as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, deſpairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obeliſk is a quadrangular, taper, high ſpire, or pyramid, raiſed perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to ſerve as an ornament to ſome open ſquare; and is very often covered with inſcriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with myſtical characters or ſymbols uſed by the Egyptians to conceal and diſguiſe their ſacred things, and the myſteries of their theology.

[k] Seſoſtris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obeliſks of extreme hard ſtone, brought from the quarters of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet*. The emperor

[i] L. xvii. p. 807. [k] Diod. lib. i. p. 37.

* It is proper to obſerve, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was 1 foot 9 inches and about ½ of our meaſure.

Auguſtus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, cauſed theſe two obeliſks to be tranſported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broke to pieces. [l] He durſt not venture upon a third, which was of a monſtrous ſize. It was made in the reign of Ramiſes: it is ſaid that twenty thouſand men were employed in the cutting of it. Conſtantius, more daring than Auguſtus, ordered it to be removed to Rome. Two of theſe obeliſks are ſtill ſeen, as well as another of an hundred cubits, or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms in diameter. [m] Caius Cæſar had it brought from Egypt in a ſhip of ſo odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been ſeen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obeliſks; they were for the moſt part cut in quarries of Upper Egypt, where ſome are now to be ſeen half finiſhed. But the moſt wonderful circumſtance is, that the ancient Egyptians ſhould have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raiſed up the columns, obeliſks, and ſtatues on * rafts, proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country abounded every where with canals, there were few places to which thoſe huge bodies might not be carried with eaſe; although their weight would have broken every other kind of engine.

SECT. II. *The Pyramids.*

[n] A PYRAMID is a ſolid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a ſquare baſe, and terminating in a point.

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the reſt, one whereof † deſerved to be ranked among the ſeven wonders of the world; they did not

[l] Plin. l. xxxvi. [m] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.
[n] Herod. l. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 39—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 12.
* Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together to carry goods on rivers.
† Vide Diod. Sic.

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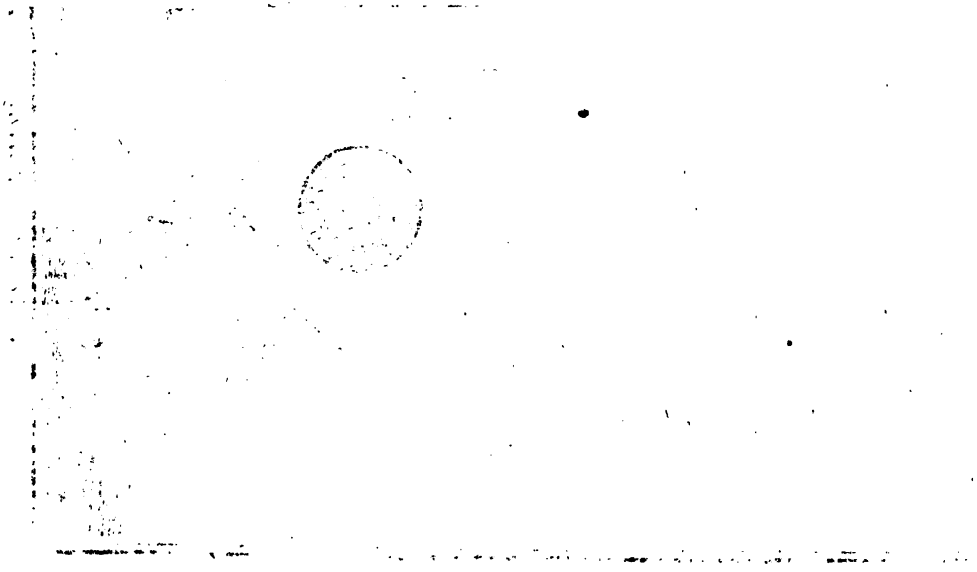

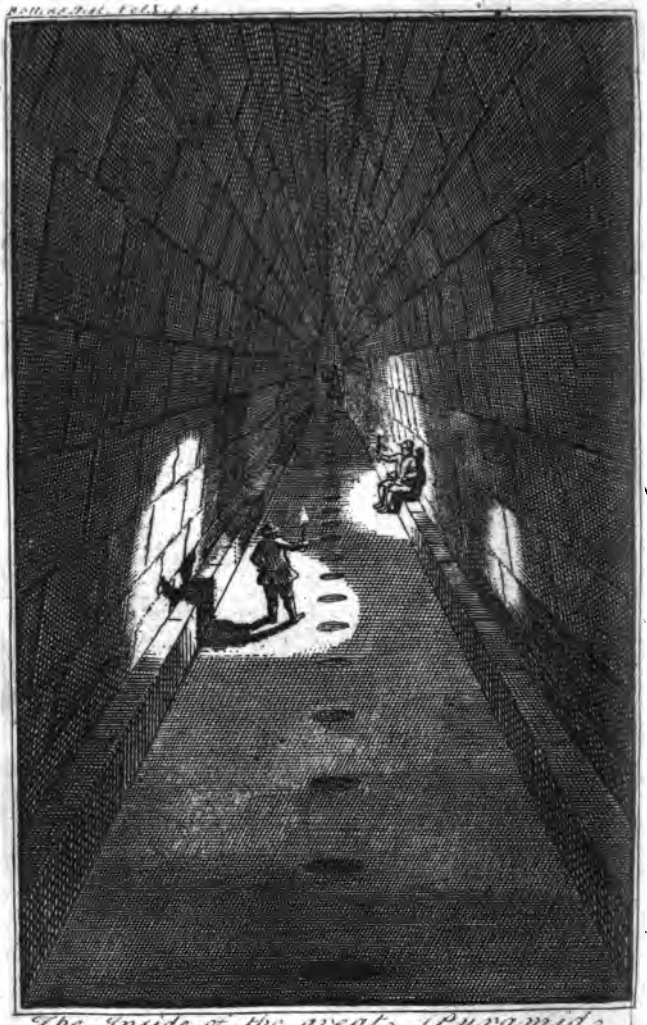

The Inside of the great Pyramid

ſtand very far from the city of Memphis. I ſhall take notice here only of the largeſt of the three. This pyramid, like the reſt, was built on a rock, having a ſquare baſe, cut on the outſide as ſo many ſteps, and decreaſing gradually quite to the ſummit. It was built with ſtones of a prodigious ſize, the leaſt of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to ſeveral ancient authors, each ſide was eight hundred feet broad and as many high. The ſummit of the pyramids, which to thoſe who viewed it from below, ſeemed a point, was a fine platform, compoſed of ten or twelve maſſy ſtones, and each ſide of that platform ſixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the academy of ſciences, who went purpoſely on the ſpot in 1693, gives us the following dimenſions:

The ſide of the ſquare baſe	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the ſuperfices of the baſe is	12,100 ſquare fathoms.
The perpendicular height	$77\frac{3}{6}$ fathoms.
The ſolid contents	313,590 cubical fathoms.

A hundred thouſand men were conſtantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the ſame number. Ten complete years were ſpent in hewing out the ſtones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immenſe edifice, the inſide of which contained numberleſs rooms and apartments. There was expreſſed on the pyramid, in Egyptian, characters, the ſums it coſt only in garlic, leeks, onions, and the like, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to ſixteen hundred * talents of ſilver, that is, four millions five hundred thouſand French livres; from whence it was eaſy to conjecture what a vaſt ſum the whole muſt have amounted to.

* About 25,000l. ſterling.

Such

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as ſize, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts ſoever men may make, their nothingneſs will always appear. Theſe pyramids were tombs; and there is ſtill to be ſeen, in the middle of the largeſt, an empty ſepulchre, cut out of one entire ſtone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above ſix feet long *. Thus all this buſtle, all this expence, and all the labours of ſo many thouſand men, ended in procuring a prince, in this vaſt and almoſt boundleſs pile of building, a little vault ſix feet in length. Beſides, the kings who built theſe pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them; and ſo did not enjoy the ſepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reaſon of their unheard-of cruelties to their ſubjects in laying ſuch heavy taſks upon them, occaſioned their being interred in ſome obſcure place, to prevent their bodies from being expoſed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

This laſt circumſtance which hiſtorians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to paſs on theſe edifices, ſo much boaſted of by the ancients. It is but juſt to remark and eſteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earlieſt times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties without deviating in the leaſt from a noble ſimplicity, in which the higheſt perfection of the art conſiſts. But what idea ought we to form of thoſe princes who conſidered as ſomething grand, the raiſing by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immenſe ſtructures, with the ſole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not ſcruple to deſtroy thouſands of their ſubjects to ſatisfy their vain glory! They differed very much from the

* Diod. lib. i. p. 40.

* Strabo mentions the ſepulchre, lib. xvii. p. 808.

Romans,

Romans, who fought to immortaliſe themſelves by works of a magnificent kind, but at the ſame time of public utility.

[p] Pliny gives us, in few words, a juſt idea of theſe pyramids, when he calls them a fooliſh and uſeleſs oſtentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecuniæ otioſa ab ſtulta oſtentatio.* And adds, that by a juſt puniſhment their memory is buried in oblivion; the hiſtorians not agreeing among themſelves about the names of thoſe who firſt raiſed thoſe vain monuments. *Inter eos non conſtant a quibus factæ ſint, juſtiſſimo caſu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.* In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the induſtry of the architects of thoſe pyramids is no leſs valuable and praiſe-worthy, than the deſign of the Egyptian kings contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we ſhould moſt admire in theſe ancient monuments is, the true and ſtanding evidence they give of the ſkill of the Egyptians in aſtronomy; that is, in a ſcience which ſeems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long ſeries of years, and a great number of obſervations. M. de Chazelles, when he meaſured the great pyramid in queſtion, found that the four ſides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and conſequently ſhowed the true meridian of that place. Now, as ſo exact a ſituation was in all probability purpoſely pitched upon by thoſe who piled up this huge maſs of ſtones, above three thouſand years ago; it follows, that during ſo long a ſpace of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that reſpect, or (which amounts to the ſame thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his eulogium of M. de Chazelles.

[p] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

SECT. III. *The Labyrinth.*

[q] WHAT has been ſaid concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may alſo be applied to the labyrinth which Herodotus, who ſaw it, aſſures us was ſtill more ſurpriſing than the pyramids. It was built at the moſt ſouthern part of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made preſently, near the town of Crocodiles, the ſame with Arſinoe. It was not ſo much one ſingle palace, as a magnificent pile compoſed of twelve palaces, regularly diſpoſed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interſperſed with terraſſes, were ranged round twelve halls, and diſcovered no outlet to ſuch as went to ſee them. There were the like number of buildings under ground. Theſe ſubterraneous ſtructures were deſigned for the burying-place of the kings, and (who can ſpeak this without confuſion and without deploring the blindneſs of man!) for keeping the ſacred crocodiles, which a nation, ſo wiſe in other reſpects, worſhipped as gods.

In order to viſit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was neceſſary, as the reader will naturally ſuppoſe, for people to take the ſame precaution as Ariadne made Theſeus uſe, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil deſcribes it in this manner:

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,
Involv'd the weary feet without redreſs,
In a round error, which deny'd receſs:[s]
Not far from thence he grav'd the wond'rous maze:
A thouſand doors, a thouſand winding ways.

[r] *Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta*

[q] Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811. [s] Virg. l. vi, ver. 588, &c.

Pari-

Parietibus textum cæcis iter ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus & irremeabilis error.
Hic labor, ille domus et inextricabilis error.
Dædalus ipse dolos tecti ambigesque resolvit,
Cæca regens filo vestigia.

SECT. IV. *The Lake of Mœris.*

THE nobleſt and moſt wonderful of all the ſtructures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mœris: accordingly, Herodotus conſiders it as vaſtly ſuperior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or leſs fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in theſe floods, the too general flow or ebb of the waters were equally fatal to the lands; king Mœris, to prevent theſe two inconveniencies, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the aſſiſtance of nature; and ſo cauſed the lake to be dug, which afterward went by his name. This * lake was about three thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which ſtood a coloſſal ſtatue, ſeated on a throne, raiſed their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midſt of the lake, whilſt their foundations took up the ſame ſpace under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonſtration that a lake of ſuch vaſt extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what ſeveral hiſtorians have related concerning the lake Mœris, on the teſtimony of the inhabitants of the country. And the biſhop of Meaux, in his diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory, relates the whole as fact. With regard to myſelf, I will confeſs, that I

* Virg l. vi. ver. 27, &c.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela. l. i.

* Vide Herod. and Diod. Pliny agrees almoſt with them.

do not ſee the leaſt probability in it. Is it poſſible to conceive, that a lake of a hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where, could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What ſhould prompt the Egyptians to loſe the ſurface of ſo much land? By what arts could they fill this vaſt tract with the ſuperfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer: eſpecially as his account is confirmed by ſeveral modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thouſand paces, that is, ſeven or eight French leagues in circumference. [u] *Mœris aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia paſſuum in circuitu patens.*

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, four leagues long*, and fifty feet broad. Great ſluices either opened or ſhut the canal and lake, as there was occaſion.

The charge of opening or ſhutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thouſand French crowns†. The fiſhing of this lake brought the monarch immenſe ſums; but its chief uſe related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it roſe too high, and was like to be attended with fatal conſequences, the ſluices were opened; and the waters, having a free paſſage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was neceſſary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a ſufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty enſued; and even when it roſe but to eight cubits, the dearth was ſcarce felt in the country; doubtleſs, becauſe the waters of the lake made up for thoſe of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

[u] Mela, l. 1.

* Eighty-five ſtadia. † 11,250l. ſterling.

SECT.

SECT. V. *The Inundations of the Nile.*

THE Nile is the greateſt wonder of Egypt. As it ſeldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, ſupplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet ſay ingeniouſly, "The Egyptian paſtures, how great ſoever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain."

Te propter nullos tellus tua poſtulat imbres
*Arida nec pluvio ſupplicat herba Jovi**.

To multiply ſo beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberleſs canals of a length and breadth proportioned to the different ſituation and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its ſalutary ſtreams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom againſt the enemy; ſo that it was at once the nouriſher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities which were raiſed with immenſe labour, and ſtood like iſlands in the midſt of the waters, looked down with joy to the plains which were overflowed, and at the ſame time enriched by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, ſo famous among the ancients. But a wonder ſo aſtoniſhing in itſelf, and which has been the object of the curioſity and admiration of the learned in all ages, ſeems to require a more particular deſcription, in which I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible.

1. *The ſource of the Nile.*

The ancients placed the ſources of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon (as they are commonly called)

* Seneca (Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 2.) aſcribes theſe verſes to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

in

in the 10th degree of ſouth latitude. But our modern travellers have diſcovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the courſe which the ancients gave that river. It riſes at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Goyam in Abyſſinia, from two ſprings, or eyes, to ſpeak in the language of the country, the ſame word in Arabic ſignifying eye and fountain. Theſe ſprings are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increaſed with many rivulets which run into it; and after paſſing through Ethiopia in a meandrous courſe, flows at laſt into Egypt.

2. *The Cataracts of the Nile.*

That name is given to ſome parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the ſteep rocks*. This river, which at firſt glided ſmoothly along the vaſt deſerts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, paſſes by the cataracts. Then growing on a ſudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in thoſe places where it is pent up and reſtrained; after having at laſt broke through all obſtacles in its way, it precipitates from the top of ſome rocks to the bottom, with ſo loud a noiſe, that it is heard three leagues off.

* *Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis inſigni ſpectaculo locus.—— Illic excitatis primum acquis, quas ſine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus et torrens per malignos tranſitus profilit, diſſimilis ſibi—— tandemque eluctatus obſtantia, in vaſtam altitudinem ſubito deſtitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionem ſtrepitu; quem perferre gens ibi a Perſis collocata non potuit, obtuſis aſſiduo fragore auribus, et ob hoc ſedibus ad quietiora tranſlatis, inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia conſcendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam inſaniam Nili et reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuiſſimos canales tenent, per quos anguſtas rupium effugiunt: et cum toto flumine effuſi navigium ruens manu temperant, magnoque ſpectantium metu in caput nixi, tum jam adploraveris, merſoſque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo miſſa. Nec mergit cadens unda, ſed planis aquis tradit.* SENEC. Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 2.

The

The inhabitants of the country, accuſtomed by long practice to this ſport, exhibit here a ſpectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long ſuſtained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dexterouſly, they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as ſwift as an arrow. The affrighted ſpectator imagines they are going to be ſwallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, reſtored to its natural courſe, diſcovers them again, at a conſiderable diſtance, on its ſmooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

3. *Cauſes of the Inundations of the Nile.*

[x]The ancients have invented many ſubtle reaſons for the Nile's great increaſe, as may be ſeen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of diſpute, it being almoſt univerſally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. Theſe rains ſwell it to ſuch a degree, that Ethiopia firſt, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at firſt was but a large river, riſes like a ſea, and overſpreads the whole country.

[y] Strabo obſerves, that the ancients only gueſſed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that ſeveral travellers have ſince been eye-witneſſes of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and ſciences, having ſent thither able perſons, purpoſely to examine this matter, and to aſcertain the cauſe of ſo uncommon and remarkable an effect.

[x] Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Diod. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 1. & 2.

[y] Lib. xviii. p. 789.

4. *The*

4. *The Time and Continuance of the Inundations.*

[a] Herodotus, and after him Diodorus Siculus, and ſeveral other authors declare, that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the ſummer ſolſtice, that is about the end of June, and continues to riſe till the end of September; and then decreaſes gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and reſumes its wonted courſe. This account agrees almoſt with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cauſe of the inundation, *viz.* the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the conſtant teſtimony of thoſe who have been on the ſpot, theſe rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of Auguſt and beginning of September. The Nile's increaſe in Egypt muſt conſequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyſſinia; and accordingly travellers obſerve, that the Nile begins to riſe in the month of May, but ſo ſlowly at the firſt, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and laſts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I muſt point out to ſuch as conſult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one ſide; and on the other between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus. Theſe laſt ſhorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and ſuppoſe the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days. And that which adds to the difficulty, is, Pliny ſeems to ground his opinion on the teſtimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus inter ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus centeſimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

5. *The Height of the Inundations.*

[b] The juſt height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is ſixteen cubits. When it riſes but to twelve or thirteen

[a] Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 22.

[b] *Juſtum incrementum eſt cubitorum* XVI. *Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores*

thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and a half. [a] The emperor Julian takes notice, in a letter to Ecdicius prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowings was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observators and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

[b] As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase have been carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were marked; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. [c] Strabo speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the grand signor for the lands, is settled by the inundation. The day it rises to such a height, is kept as a grand

ampliores detinent tardius recedendo. Hæ ferendi tempora absumunt solo madente: illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque reputat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiammum esurit: quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim delicias. PLIN. l. v. c. 9.

[a] Jul. Epist. 50. [b] Diod. l. i. p. 38. [c] Lib. xvii. p. 817.

festival;

feſtival; and ſolemnized with fire-works, feaſtings, and all the demonſtrations of public rejoicing; and in the remoteſt ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an univerſal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happineſs.

[d] The heathens aſcribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increaſe, was preſerved religiouſly in the temple of that idol. The emperor Conſtantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians ſpread a report, that the Nile would riſe no more, by reaſon of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increaſed as uſual the following years. Julian the apoſtate, a zealous protector of idolatry, cauſed this pillar to be replaced in the ſame temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodoſius.

6. *The Canals of the Nile and ſpiral Pumps.*

Divine Providence, in giving ſo beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend, that the inhabitants of it ſhould be idle, and enjoy ſo great a bleſſing, without taking any pains. One may naturally ſuppoſe, that as the Nile could not of itſelf cover the whole country, great labour was to be uſed to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberleſs canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which ſtood very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, had each their canals, which were opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more diſtant villages had theirs alſo, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters were ſucceſſively conveyed to the moſt remote places. Perſons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at ſuch a height, nor to open them altogether; becauſe otherwiſe ſome lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt,

[d] Socrat. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.

according

according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is disposed with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen; in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. [c] Diodorus speaks of such an engine (called *Cochlea Ægyptia)* invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt.

7. *The Fertility caused by the Nile.*

There is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile*. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired. The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and with little or no expence. Two months after it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians generally sow in October and November, according as the waters draw off, and their harvest is in March and April.

[c] Lib. i. p 30. & lib. v. p. 313.

* *Cum cæteri amnes abluant terras et eviscerent; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, et quod inundat, et quod oblimat.* Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.

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The ſame land bears in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are ſown firſt; then corn; and, after harveſt, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to Egypt. As the ſun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very ſeldom in it, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the earth would ſoon be parched, and the corn and pulſe burnt up by ſo ſcorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reſervoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply ſupply wherewith to water and refreſh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no leſs to the nouriſhment of cattle, which is another ſource of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to graſs in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never expreſs how rich their paſtures are; and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reaſon of the mildneſs of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut ſtraw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, ſays [f] Corneille le Bruyn in his Travels, help obſerving the admirable providence of God to this country, who ſends at a fixed ſeaſon ſuch great quantities of rains in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a ſhower of rain ſcarce ever falls; and who, by that means, cauſes the drieſt and moſt ſandy ſoil, to become the richeſt and moſt fruitful country in the univerſe.

Another thing to be obſerved here, is that, (as the inhabitants ſay) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-eaſt winds blow conſtantly, in order to keep back the waters which otherwiſe would flow too faſt; and to hinder them from diſcharging themſelves into the ſea, the entrance to which theſe winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumſtance.

[g] The ſame providence, whoſe ways are wonderful and infinitely various, diſplayed itſelf after a quite diffe-

[f] Vol. ii. [g] *Multiformis ſapientia.* Eph. iii. 10.

rent

rent manner in Paleſtine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful; not by rains, which fell during the courſe of the year, as is uſual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by ſending fixed rains at two ſeaſons, when the people were obedient to God, to make them more ſenſible of their continual dependence upon him. God himſelf commands them by his ſervant Moſes, to make this reflection [b]. "The land whither thou goeſt in to poſſeſs it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou ſowedſt thy ſeed, and wateredſt it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven." After this, God promiſes to give his people, ſo long as they ſhall continue obedient to him, "the former" and "the latter rain:" the firſt in autumn, to bring up the corn; and the ſecond in the ſpring and ſummer, to make it grow and ripen.

8. *Two different Proſpects exhibited by the Nile.*

There cannot be a finer ſight than Egypt at two ſeaſons of the year*. For if a man aſcends ſome mountain, or one of the largeſt pyramids of grand Cairo, in the months of July and Auguſt, he beholds a vaſt ſea, in which numberleſs towns and villages appear, with ſeveral cauſeys leading from place to place; the whole interſperſed with groves and fruit-trees, whoſe tops are only viſible, all which forms a delightful proſpect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmoſt diſtance the eye can diſcover, the moſt beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to ſay, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued ſcene of beautiful meadows, whoſe verdure,

[b] Deut. xi. 10—13.

* *Illa facies pulcherrima eſt, cum jam ſe in agros Nilus ingeſſit. Latent campi, operteque ſunt valles; oppida inſulamur modo extant. Nullum in mediterraneis, niſi per navigia, commercium eſt: majorque eſt lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum ſuarum vident.* Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iv. c. 2.

enamelled

enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The ſpectator beholds, on every ſide, flocks and herds diſperſed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of huſbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of bloſſoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is ſo pure, that a wholeſomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; ſo that nature, being then dead as it were, in all other climates, ſeems to be alive only for ſo delightful an abode.

9. *The canal formed by the Nile, by which a communication is made between the two ſeas.*

[1] The canal, by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the leaſt advantages which the Nile procured Egypt. Seſoſtris, or according to others, Pſammetichus, firſt projected the deſign, and begun this work. Nechio, ſucceſſor to the laſt prince, laid out immenſe ſums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is ſaid, that above ſix ſcore thouſand Egyptians periſhed in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the firſt of that name; but he alſo deſiſted from it, upon his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at laſt finiſhed under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of ſluices, opened or ſhut the canal as there was occaſion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubaſte. It was an hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, ſo that two veſſels might paſs with eaſe; it had depth enough to carry the largeſt ſhips; and was above a thouſand ſtadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great ſervice to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almoſt filled up, and there are ſcarce any remains of it to be ſeen.

[1] Herod. l. ii. c. 158. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. xvii. c. 29. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Lower Egypt.

I AM now to ſpeak of Lower Egypt. Its ſhape, which reſembles a triangle, or Δ, gave occaſion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of iſland; it begins at the place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itſelf into the Mediterranean: the mouth on the right hand is called the Peluſian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Peluſium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Roſetta. Between theſe two large branches, there are five others of leſs note. This iſland is the beſt cultivated, the moſt fruitful, and the richeſt in Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Peluſium; and, in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Iſraelites dwelt.

[k] There was at Sais, a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame as Iſis, with the following inſcription: "I am whatever hath been, and is, and ſhall be; and no mortal hath yet pierced through the veil that ſhrouds me."

[l] Heliopolis, that is, the city of the ſun, was ſo called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate ſome particulars concerning the Phœnix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or ſix hundred years, and is of the ſize of an eagle. His head is adorned with a ſhining and moſt beautiful creſt; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the reſt of a pur-

[k] Plutar. in Iſid. p. 354. [l] Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

ple,

ple, his tail is white, intermixed with red, and his eyes ſparkling like ſtars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a neſt with wood and aromatic ſpices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phœnix is formed. His firſt care is to ſolemnize his parent's obſequies, for which purpoſe he makes up a ball in the ſhape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, which he often eſſays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he depoſites his parent's body, and cloſes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his ſhoulders, and flying to the altar of the ſun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus diſpute the truth of ſome of the circumſtances of this account, but ſeem to ſuppoſe it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, inſinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falſehood, hath yet introduced into almoſt all languages, the cuſtom of giving the name of phœnix to whatever is ſingular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris,* [m] ſays Juvenal, ſpeaking of the difficulty of finding an accompliſhed woman in all reſpects. And Seneca obſerves the ſame of a good man*.

What is reported of the ſwans, viz. that they never ſing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiouſly, is likewiſe grounded merely on a vulgar error: and yet it is uſed, not only by the poets, but alſo by the orators, and even philoſophers, *O mutis quoque piſcibus donatura cycni, ſi libeat, ſonum,* [n] ſays Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent diſcourſe which Craſſus made in the ſenate, a few days before his death, to the melodious ſinging of a dying ſwan. *Illa tanquam cycnea fuit di-*

[m] Sat. vi. [n] Od. iii. l. iv.

* *Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri poteſt, nec intelligi —— tanquam Phœnix, ſemel anno quingenteſimo naſcitur.* Ep. 42.

vini

vini hominis vox et oratio. De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates uſed to ſay, that good men ought to imitate ſwans, who perceiving by a ſecret inſtinct, and a divination, what advantage there is in death, die ſinging and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni ſit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur.* Tuſc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this ſhort digreſſion might be of ſervice to youth, and return now to my ſubject.

It was in [o] Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worſhipped as a god. Cambyſes, king of Perſia, exerciſed his ſacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demoliſhing the palaces, and deſtroying the moſt precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are ſtill to be ſeen ſome obeliſks which eſcaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almoſt in magnificence with the ancient cities of Egypt. It ſtands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the eaſtern trade. [p] The merchandiſes were unloaded at Portus Muris*, a town on the weſtern coaſt of the Red Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants reſorted from all parts.

It is well known, that the Eaſt India trade hath at all times enriched thoſe who carried it on. This was the chief fountain of the vaſt treaſures that Solomon amaſſed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jeruſalem. [q] David by his conquering Idumæa, became maſter of Elath and Eſiongeber, two towns ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red Sea. From theſe two ports, [r] Solomon ſent fleets to Ophir and Tarſhiſh, which always brought back immenſe riches†.

[o] Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. [p] Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.
[q] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [r] 1 Kings ix. 26.

* *Or* Myos Hormos.

† He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18. which amount to three millions, two hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling. *Prid. Connect. Vol. I. ad ann.* 740. *not.*

This

This traffic, after having been enjoyed ſome time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, ſhifted from them to the Tyrians. [s]Theſe got all their merchandiſe conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura, (a ſea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Paleſtine) to Tyre, from whence they diſtributed them all over the weſtern world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themſelves exceedingly, under the Perſian empire, by the favour and protection of whoſe monarchs they had the full poſſeſſion of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themſelves maſters of Egypt, they ſoon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the weſtern ſide of the Red Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby roſe to be the city of the greateſt trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffic, which the weſtern parts of the world from that time had with Perſia, India, Arabia, and the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was diſcovered, a little above two hundred years ſince, of ſailing to thoſe parts, by the cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portugueſe for ſome time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner engroſſed wholly by the Engliſh and Dutch. This ſhort account of the Eaſt India trade, from Solomon's time, to the preſent age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux [t].

[u]For the conveniency of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an iſland called Pharos, a tower which bore the ſame name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light ſuch ſhips as ſailed by night near thoſe dangerous coaſts, which were full of ſands and ſhelves; from whence all other towers, deſigned for the ſame uſe, have been called, as Pharo di Meſſina, &c. The famous architect Soſtratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it*. It was reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the

[s] Strab. l. xvi. p. 481. [t] Part. I. i. p. 9.
[u] Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

* Eight hundred thouſand crowns, or 180,000l. ſterling.

world.

world. Some have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own*. It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus, Cnidius Dexiphanis F. Diis Servatoribus pro navigantibus. i. e.* "Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of sea-faring people." But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally very fond of, to suffer, that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. x What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us, that Sostratus, to engross the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king's name. The lime soon mouldered away; and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud, and ridiculous vanity,

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb†. In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated, witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expence; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the magnificence of the kings his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. y In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians, part of this library, (situate in the ‡ Bruchion) which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

x De Scribend. Hist p 706.

y Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

* *Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permiserit Sostrati Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi* PLIN.

† *Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis.* QUINTIL.

‡ A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

PART THE SECOND.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Egyptians.

EGYPT was ever conſidered by all the ancients, as the moſt renowned ſchool for wiſdom and politics, and the ſource from whence moſt arts and ſciences were derived. This kingdom beſtowed its nobleſt labours and fineſt arts on the improving mankind; and Greece was ſo ſenſible of this, that its moſt illuſtrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legiſlators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needleſs to mention, travelled into Egypt to complete their ſtudies, and draw from that fountain whatever was moſt rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himſelf has given this kingdom a glorious teſtimony, when praiſing Moſes, he ſays of him, that "[a] he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians."

To give ſome idea of the manners and cuſtoms of Egypt, I ſhall confine myſelf principally to theſe particulars: its kings and government; prieſts and religion; ſoldiers and war; ſciences, arts, and trades.

The reader muſt not be ſurpriſed, if he ſometimes finds, in the cuſtoms I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumſtance is owing, either to the difference of countries and nations, which did not always follow the ſame uſages; or to the different way of thinking of the hiſtorians whom I copy.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Kings and Government.

THE Egyptians were the firſt people who rightly underſtood the rules of government. A nation ſo grave and ſerious, immediately perceived that the

[a] Acts vii. 22.

true

true end of politics is, to make life eaſy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but according to[a] Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themſelves in a different manner from what is uſually ſeen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions, but his arbitrary will and pleaſure. But here, kings were under greater reſtraint from the laws, than their ſubjects. They had ſome particular ones digeſted by a former monarch that compoſed part of thoſe books, which the Egyptians call ſacred. Thus every thing being ſettled by ancient cuſtom, they never ſought to live in a different way from their anceſtors.

No ſlave or foreigner was admitted into the immediate ſervice of the prince; ſuch a poſt was too important to be intruſted to any perſons, except thoſe who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and had received the moſt excellent education; to the end that, as they had the liberty of approaching the king's perſon, day and night, he might, from men ſo qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majeſty; or have any ſentiments inſtilled into him, but ſuch as were of a noble and generous kind. "For," adds Diodorus, "it is very rarely ſeen, that kings fly out into any vicious exceſs, unleſs thoſe who approach them approve their irregularities, or ſerve as inſtruments to their paſſions."

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquids to be preſcribed them (a thing cuſtomary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all ſober, and whoſe air inſpired frugality) but even that all their hours, and almoſt every action, ſhould be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is cleareſt, and the thoughts moſt unperplexed, they read the ſeveral letters they received; to form a more juſt and diſtinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration that day.

As ſoon as they were dreſſed, they went to the daily ſacrifice performed in the temple; where, ſurrounded

[a] Diod. l. i. p. 63, &c.

with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-priest, in which he asked of the gods, health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high-priest entered into a long detail of his virtues; observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falsehood; liberal, master of his passions; punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He next spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but supposed, at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifice were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were prescribed, by the laws, to the king: his table was covered with nothing but the most common meats; because eating in Egypt was designed, not to tickle the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded (observes the historian) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things; and we read in [b] Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with impreca-

[b] De Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

tions

tions againſt that king, who firſt introduced profuſion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their moſt eſſential function, is the adminiſtering juſtice to their ſubjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the eaſe and comfort of the ſeveral individuals, but the happineſs of the ſtate; which would be an herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, ſhould the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and credit, to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were ſelected out of the principal cities, to form a body or aſſembly for judging the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling theſe vacancies, choſe ſuch as were moſt renowned for their honeſty; and put at their head, him who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the moſt univerſal eſteem. By his bounty, they had revenues aſſigned them, to the end that being freed from domeſtic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honourably ſubſiſted by the generoſity of the prince, they adminiſtered juſtice gratuitouſly to the people, who have a natural right to it; among whom it ought to have a free circulation, and in ſome ſenſe, among the poor more than the rich, becauſe the latter find a ſupport within themſelves; whereas the very condition of the former expoſes them more to injuries; and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard againſt ſurpriſe, affairs were tranſacted by writing in the aſſemblies of theſe judges. That ſpecies of eloquence (a falſe kind) was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the paſſions. Truth could not be expreſſed with too much plainneſs, as it was to have the only ſway in judgments; becauſe in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and ſecurity. The preſident of this ſenate wore a collar of gold ſet with precious ſtones, at which hung a figure repreſented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the preſident

preſident put his collar on, it was underſtood as a ſignal to enter upon buſineſs. He touched the party with it, who was to gain his cauſe, and this was the form of paſſing ſentence.

The moſt excellent circumſtance in the laws of the Egyptains, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the ſtricteſt obſervance of them. A new cuſtom in [c] Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactneſs with which little matters were adhered to, preſerved thoſe of more importance; and indeed no nation ever preſerved their laws and cuſtoms longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was puniſhed with [d] death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered perſon, whether he was free-born or otherwiſe. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptains were ſuperior to that of the Romans, who gave the maſter an abſolute power as to life and death over his ſlave. The emperor Adrian indeed aboliſhed this law; from an opinion, that an abuſe of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever ſo great.

[e] Perjury was alſo puniſhed with death, becauſe that crime attacks both the gods, whoſe majeſty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a falſe oath; and men in breaking the ſtrongeſt tie of human ſociety, viz. ſincerity and honeſty.

[f] The falſe accuſer was condemned to undergo the puniſhment, which the perſon accuſed was to have ſuffered, had the accuſation been proved.

[g] He who had neglected or refuſed to ſave a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to aſſiſt him, was puniſhed as rigorouſly as the aſſaſſin: but if the unfortunate perſon could not be ſuccoured, the offender was at leaſt to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the ſubjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united againſt the deſigns of the bad.

[c] Plut. in Tim. p. 656. [d] Diod. l. i. p. 76. [e] Pag. 69.
[f] Idem. [g] Idem.

No

[h] No man was allowed to be useless to the state; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, and to annex his profession, and in what manner he lived. If such a one gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

[i] To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Asychis made a very judicious law. The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium, to restrain, on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy from his dishonesty. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care; and kept reverentially in his house (as will be observed in the sequel, and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead*.

[k] Diodorous remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts,

[h] Diod. l. i, p. 69. [i] Herod. l. ii. c. 136. [k] Diod. l. i. p. 71.

* This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: the debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him. Μηδε αυτω εκειναι τελευτησαντι ειναι ταφης κυριαν—μητ' αλλον μηδενα των εαυτου απογονων θαψαι. Heron.

and

and getting their bread: but at the ſame time they permitted the creditor to impriſon the peaſants themſelves; who only were capable of uſing theſe implements; which expoſed them to the ſame inconveniences, and at the ſame time deprived the government of perſons who belonged, and are neceſſary to it; who labour for the public emolument, and over whoſe perſon no private man has any right.

[l] Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to prieſts, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether ſhe was free or a ſlave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

[m] One cuſtom that was practiſed in Egypt, ſhowed the profound darkneſs into which ſuch nations as were moſt celebrated for their wiſdom have been plunged; and this was the marriage of brothers with their ſiſters, which was not only authoriſed by the laws, but even, in ſome meaſure, was a part of their religion, from the example and practice of ſuch of their gods, as had been the moſt anciently and univerſally adored in Egypt, that is, Oſiris and Iſis.

[n] A very great reſpect was there paid to old age. The young were obliged to riſe up for the old, and on every occaſion, to reſign to them the moſt honourable ſeat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the higheſt eſteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the moſt grateful of all men, ſhows that they were the beſt formed of any nation, for ſocial life. Benefits are the band of concord both public and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in baniſhing ingratitude, the pleaſure of doing good remains ſo pure and engaging, that it is impoſſible for a man to be inſenſible of it: but no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleaſing ſatisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, whilſt living, were by them honoured as ſo

[l] Diod. l. i. p. 72. [m] Idem. p. 22. [n] Herod. l. ii. c. 20.

many

many visible representations of the deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Priests and Religion of the Egyptians.

PRIESTS, in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, [o] "Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's."

The prince usually honoured them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the public. They were at one and the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things relating to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

[p] The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honour of the gods. One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubaste, whither persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards

[o] Gen. xlvii. 26. [p] Herod. l. ii. c. 60.

and getting their bread: but at the ...en, were seen at it. mitted the creditor to impri... the lights, was solem- ſelves; who only were ca... throughout Egypt, who ments; which expoſed ...bliged to illuminate their ences, and at the ſa... of perſons who be... labour for the ... were ſacrificed in different coun- ... and general ceremony was ob- perſon no priv... Polygam... victim, loading it at the ſame time with im- who could ... and praying the gods to divert upon that conditio... all the calamities which might threaten Egypt. ſlave, h... It is to Egypt that Pythagoras owed his favourite the ... doctrine of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ... The Egyptians believed, that at the death of ... their ſouls tranſmigrated into other human bo- dies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were impriſoned in the bodies of unclean or unhappy beaſts, to expiate in them their paſt tranſgreſſions; and that, after a revolution of ſome centuries, they again ani- mated other human bodies.

The prieſts had the poſſeſſion of the ſacred books which contained, at large, the principles of govern- ment, as well as the myſteries of divine worſhip. Both were commonly involved in ſymbols and enigmas, which, under theſe veils, made truth more venerable, and excited more ſtrongly the curioſity of men. The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian ſanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, ſeemed to intimate, that myſteries were there incloſed, the knowledge of which was revealed to very few. The ſphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the ſame. It is very well known, that pyramids, obeliſks, pillars, ſtatues, in a word, all public monuments, were uſually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with ſymbolical writings; whether theſe were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, which couched a hidden and pa- rabolical meaning. [t] Thus, by a hare, was ſignified a

[q] Herod. l. ii. c. 39.
[r] Diod. l. i. p. 88.
[s] Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 354.
[t] Plut. Sympoſ. l. iv. p. 670.

ly and piercing attention, becauſe this creature has y delicate hearing. "The ſtatue of a judge without and with eyes fixed upon the ground, ſymbol- duties of thoſe who were to exerciſe the ju- functions.

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I ſhall confine myſelf to two articles, which form the principal part of the Egyptian religion; and theſe are the worſhip of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECT. I. *Of the Worſhip of the various Deities.*

NEVER were any people more ſuperſtitious than the Egyptians; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I ſhall omit, becauſe they belong more to fable than to hiſtory. Among the reſt, two were univerſally adored in that country, and theſe were Oſiris and Iſis, which are thought to be the ſun and moon; and indeed the worſhip of thoſe planets give riſe to idolatry.

Beſides theſe gods, the Egyptians worſhipped a great number of beaſts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the * ibis, the cat, &c. Many of theſe beaſts were the objects only of the ſuperſtition of ſome particular cities; and whilſt a people worſhipped one ſpecies of animals as gods, their neighbours had the ſame animal gods in abomination. This was the ſource of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the falſe policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, endeavoured to amuſe them, by engaging them in religious conteſts. I call this a falſe and miſtaken policy, becauſe it directly thwarts the true ſpirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the ſtricteſt ties, and to make all its ſtrength conſiſt in the perfect harmony of its ſeveral parts.

" Id. de Iſid. 355. * Or Egyptian ſtork.

Egypt

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. "Among us," says [x] Cicero, "it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege. [y] It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even a punishment was decreed against him, who should have killed an ibis, or a cat, with, or without design. [z] Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat; the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

[a] Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous. Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age *, the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expences, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns †. After the last honours had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought through for

[x] De nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.
[z] Herod. l. ii. c. 65. [y] Diod. l. i. p. 74, 75.
[a] Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. p. 76. Diod. l. i. Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

* Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the priests well. *Non est fas eum certos vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonta enecant.* Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46.

† Above 11,250l. sterling.

that

that purpoſe. He was known by certain ſigns, which diſtinguiſhed him from all other animals of that ſpecies; upon his forehead was to be a white ſpot, in form of a creſcent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue that of a beetle. As ſoon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but feſtivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take poſſeſſion of his dignity, and there inſtalled with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyſes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition againſt Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in tranſports of joy for their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an inſult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the firſt ſtarts of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a ſhort enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf ſet up near mount Sinai by the Iſraelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as thoſe which were afterwards ſet up by Jeroboam, (who had reſided a conſiderable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incenſe to animals, carried their folly to ſuch an exceſs, as to aſcribe a divinity to the pulſe and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniouſly reproached by the ſatiriſt.

* Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monſter gods her frantic ſons have fram'd?
Here Ibis gorg'd with well-grown ſerpents, there
The Crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's ſtatue magic ſtrings inſpire
With vocal ſounds, that emulate the lyre;

And

* *Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bythinice, qualiademens*
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc; illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibin.
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone chordæ.
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.

Illic

And Thebes, ſuch fate, are thy diſaſtrous turns!
Now proſtrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns;
A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burniſh'd gold:
To godſhip here blue Triton's ſcaly herd,
The river progeny is there preferr'd:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aſpiring temples riſe:
And ſhou'd you leeks or onions eat, no time
Would expiate the ſacrilegious crime.
Religious nations ſure, and bleſt abodes,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods.

It is aſtoniſhing to ſee a nation, which boaſted its ſuperiority above all others with regard to wiſdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itſelf to the moſt groſs and ridiculous ſuperſtitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile inſects, honoured with religious worſhip, placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expence*; to read, that thoſe who murdered them were puniſhed with death; and that theſe animals were embalmed, and ſolemnly depoſited in tombs, aſſigned them by the public; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to ſuch lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in neceſſity, and depended upon for ſuccour and protection; are exceſſes which we, at this diſtance of time, can ſcarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, ſays [b] Lucian, into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and ſilver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a ſtork, an

Illic cæruleos, hic piſcem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et cæpe nefas violare, ac frangere morſu.
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina! JUVEN. Satyr. xv.

[b] Imag.

* Diodorus affirms, that in his time, the expence amounted to no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns, or 22,500l. ſterling. *Lib.* i. p. 76.

ape,

ape, or a cat; a juſt emblem, adds that author, of too many places, the maſters of which are far from being the brighteſt ornaments of them.

[c] Several reaſons are given of the worſhip paid to animals by the Egyptians.

The firſt is drawn from the fabulous hiſtory. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made againſt them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themſelves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worſhip, which was afterwards paid to thoſe animals.

The ſecond is taken from the benefit * which theſe ſeveral animals procure to mankind: oxen by their labour; ſheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their ſervice in hunting and guarding houſes, whence the god Anubis was repreſented with a dog's head: the ibis, a bird very much reſembling a ſtork, was worſhipped, becauſe he put to flight the winged ſerpents, with which Egypt would otherwiſe have been grievouſly infeſted; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, is, living alike upon land and water, of a ſurpriſing ſtrength and ſize †, was worſhipped, becauſe he defended Egypt from the incurſions of the wild Arabs; the ichneumon was adored, becauſe he prevented the too great increaſe of crocodiles, which might have proved deſtructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in queſtion does this ſervice to the country two ways. Firſt, it watches the time when the crocodile is abſent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he ſleeps upon the banks of the Nile (which he always does with his mouth open) this ſmall animal, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the ſkin of which is very tender, he eſcapes with ſafety; and thus, by his addreſs

[c] Diod. l. i. p. 77, &c.

* *Ipſi, quid irrideantur Ægyptii, nullam beſtiam niſi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, conſecraverunt.* Cic. lib. i. De natura Deor. n. 101.

† Which, according to Herodotus, is no more than 17 cubits in length, l. ii. c. 68.

and

and ſubtilty, returns victorious over ſo terrible an animal.

Philoſophers, not ſatisfied with reaſons, which were too trifling to account for ſuch ſtrange abſurdities as diſhonoured the heathen ſyſtem, and at which themſelves ſecretly bluſhed, have, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, ſuppoſed a third reaſon for the worſhip which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themſelves, but to the gods, of whom they are ſymbols. [d] Plutarch, in his treatiſe, where he examines profeſſedly the pretenſions of Iſis and Oſiris, the two moſt famous deities of the Egyptians, ſays as follows: "Philoſophers honour the image of god wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and conſequently more in thoſe which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worſhippers of theſe animals, but thoſe who, by their means, aſcend to the deity; they are to be conſidered as ſo many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being diſplays himſelf in a wonderful manner; or, as ſo many inſtruments, which he makes uſe of to manifeſt outwardly, his incomprehenſible wiſdom. Should men therefore, for the embelliſhing of ſtatues, amaſs together all the gold and precious ſtones in the world; the worſhip muſt not be referred to the ſtatues, for the deity does not exiſt in colours artfully diſpoſed, nor in frail matter deſtitute of ſenſe and motion." [e] Plutarch ſays in the ſame treatiſe, "that as the ſun and moon, heaven, earth, and the ſea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one deity, and one providence which governs the univerſe, and which has ſeveral ſubaltern miniſters under it; men give to this deity, which is the ſame, different names; and pay it different honours, according to the laws and cuſtoms of every country."

[d] P. 382. [e] P. 377 and 378.

But

But were theſe reflections, which offer the moſt rational vindication poſſible of idolatrous worſhip, ſufficient to cover the ridicule of it? Could it be called a raiſing of the divine attributes in a ſuitable manner, to direct the worſhipper to admire and ſeek for the image of them in beaſts of the moſt vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, ſerpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debaſing the deity, of whom, even the moſt ſtupid, uſually entertain a much greater and more auguſt idea?

However, theſe philoſophers were not always ſo juſt, as to aſcend from ſenſible beings to their inviſible author. The ſcriptures tell us, that theſe pretended ſages deſerved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be "[f] given over to a reprobate mind; and whilſt they profeſſed themſelves wiſe, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things. To ſhow what man is when left to himſelf, God permitted that very nation, which had carried human wiſdom to its greateſt height, to be the theatre in which the moſt ridiculous and abſurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other ſide, to diſplay the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deſarts of Egypt into a terreſtrial paradiſe; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberleſs multitudes of illuſtrious hermits, whoſe fervent piety and rigorous penance have done ſo much honour to the Chriſtian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous inſtance of it; and I hope the reader will excuſe this kind of digreſſion.

[g] The great wonder of Lower Egypt, ſays Abbé Fleury, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks both within and without, ſo that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The public edifices and idol temples had been converted into monaſteries, and theſe likewiſe were more in number than the private houſes.

[f] Rom. i ver. 22, 25. [g] Tom. v. p. 25, 26.

The

The monks lodged even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to aſſemble in, excluſive of the oratories belonging to the monaſteries. There were twenty thouſand virgins and ten thouſand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praiſes of God. By order of the magiſtrates, centinels were poſted at the gates, to take notice of all ſtrangers and poor who came into the city; and thoſe who firſt received them, were obliged to provide them with all hoſpitable accommodations.

SECT. II. *The Ceremonies of the Egyptian Funerals.*

I SHALL now give a conciſe account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead; and the religious care taken to provide ſepulchres for them, ſeem to inſinuate an univerſal perſuaſion, that bodies were lodged in ſepulchres merely as a depoſite or truſt.

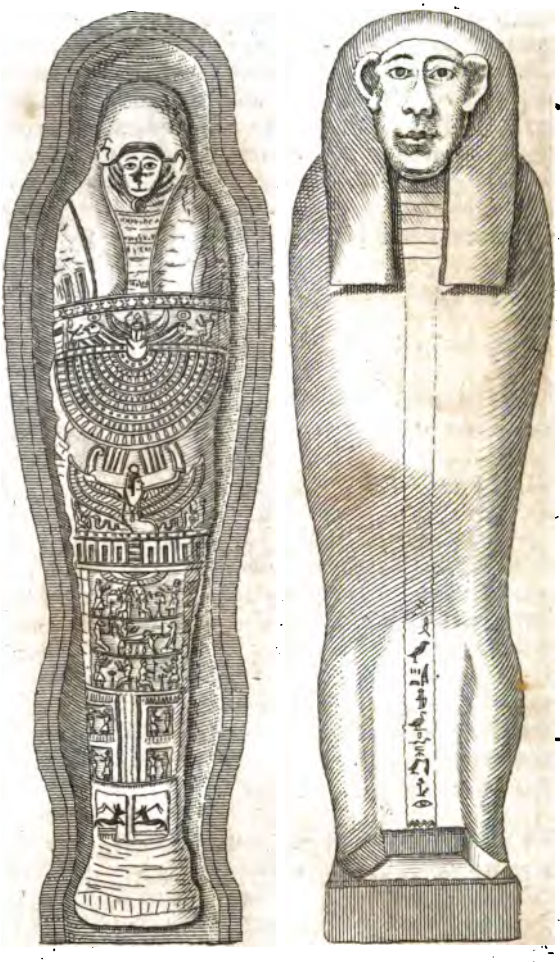
We have already obſerved, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence ſepulchres were built in Egypt; for, beſides that they were erected as ſo many ſacred monuments, deſtined to tranſmit to future times the memory of great princes; they were likewiſe conſidered as the manſions where the body was to remain during a long ſucceſſion of ages. [h] Whereas common houſes were called inns, in which men were to abide only as travellers, and that during the courſe of a life which was too ſhort to engage their affections.

When any perſon in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their uſual habits, and put on mourning; and abſtained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning held forty or ſeventy days; probably according to the quality of the perſon.

[i] Bodies were embalmed three different ways. The moſt magnificent was beſtowed on perſons of diſtin-

[h] Diod. l. i. p. 47. [i] Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

guiſhed



An Egyptian Mummy
in the Collection of Dr. Mead.
Publish'd Feb.y 1st 1754 by J. & P. Knapton

guiſhed rank, and the expence amounted to a talent of ſilver, or three thouſand French livres*.

[k] Many hands were employed in this ceremony. Some drew the brain through the noſtrils, by an inſtrument made for that purpoſe. Others emptied the bowels and inteſtines, by cutting a hole in the ſide, with an Ethiopian ſtone, that was as ſharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation (which was neceſſarily attended with ſome diſſections) ſeemed in ſome meaſure cruel and inhuman; the perſons employed fled as ſoon as the operation was over, and were purſued with ſtones by the ſtanders-by. But thoſe who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all ſorts of ſpices. After a certain time, the body was ſwathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then cruſted them over with the moſt exquiſite perfumes. By this means, it is ſaid, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hair on the lids and eye-brows, were preſerved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who ſhut it up in a kind of open cheſt, fitted exactly to the ſize of the corpſe; then they placed it upright againſt the wall, either in ſepulchres, (if they had any,) or in their houſes. Theſe embalmed bodies are now what we call Mummies, which are ſtill brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This ſhows the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceaſed relations was immortal. Children, by ſeeing the bodies of their anceſtors thus preſerved, recalled to mind thoſe virtues for which the public had honoured them; and were excited to a love of thoſe laws which ſuch excellent perſons had left for their ſecurity. We find that part of theſe ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours done to Joſeph in Egypt.

[k] Diod. l. i. p. 81. * About 137l. 10s. ſterling.

I have

I have said that the public recognized the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the public voice. The assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people were affected with laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance, in this public inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the public peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see, in scripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment, while they were alive,

alive, they would at laſt be liable to it, when death ſhould reduce them to a level with their ſubjects.

When, therefore, a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceaſed perſon, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, becauſe every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praiſes were conſidered as juſt or true, but ſuch as related to the perſonal merit of the deceaſed. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, juſtice towards men, gentleneſs, modeſty, moderation, and all other virtues which conſtitute the good man. Then all the people ſhouted, and beſtowed the higheſt eulogiums on the deceaſed, as one who would be received, for ever, into the ſociety of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiſs to obſerve to young pupils, the different manners with which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we obſerved of the Egyptians, expoſed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preſerved them to after-ages. Others, as particularly the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preſerve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to thoſe perſons in particular for whom this reſpect is deſigned; becauſe it expoſes too viſibly their wretched ſtate and deformity; ſince whatever care may be taken, ſpectators ſee nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The cuſtom of burning dead bodies has ſomething in it cruel and barbarous, in deſtroying ſo haſtily the remains of perſons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the moſt ancient and religious. It reſtores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a ſecond reſtitution of our bodies, from that duſt of which they were at firſt formed.

CHAP. III.

Of the Egyptian Soldiers and War.

THE profeſſion of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the ſacerdotal families, the moſt illuſtrious, as with us, were thoſe devoted to a military life. They were not only diſtinguiſhed by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every ſoldier was allowed an Aroura, that is, a piece of arable land very near anſwering to half a French acre *, exempt from all tax or tribute. Beſides this privilege, each ſoldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of fleſh, and a pint of wine †. This allowance was ſufficient to ſupport part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the perſon of their prince, and the intereſts of their country, and more reſolute in the defence of both; and as [l] Diodorus obſerves, it was thought inconſiſtent with good policy, and even common ſenſe, to commit the defence of a country, to men who had no intereſt in its preſervation.

[m] Four hundred thouſand ſoldiers were kept in continual pay; all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exacteſt diſcipline. They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a ſevere and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, loſt by our ſloth, was well known to the ancients, and eſpecially to the Egyptians. Foot, horſe, and chariot races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not ſhow better horſe-

[l] Lib. i. p. 67. [m] Herod. l. ii. c. 164. 168.

* Twelve Arouras. An Egyptian Aroura was 10,000 ſquare cubits, equal to three roods, two perches, 55¼ ſquare feet of our meaſure.

† The Greek is, οινου τεσσαρις αρυσηρις, which ſome have made to ſignify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid: others, regarding the etymology of the word αρυσηρ, have tranſlated it by *hauſtrum*, a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v 51. others by *hauſtus* a draught or ſup. Herodotus ſays, this allowance was given only to the two thouſand guards who attended annually on the kings. *Lib.* ii. c. 168.

men

men than the Egyptians. [n] The ſcripture in ſeveral places ſpeaks advantageouſly of their cavalry.

Military laws were eaſily preſerved in Egypt, becauſe ſons received them from their fathers; the profeſſion of war, as all others, being tranſmitted from father to ſon. [o] Thoſe who fled in battle, or diſcovered any ſigns of cowardice, were only diſtinguiſhed by ſome particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more adviſable to reſtrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of puniſhment.

But notwithſtanding this, I will not pretend to ſay, that the Egyptian were a warlike people. It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exerciſed in peace, and employed only in mock fights; it is war alone, and real combats, which form the ſoldier. Egypt loved peace, becauſe it loved juſtice, and maintained ſoldiers only for its ſecurity. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conqueſt. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by ſending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeneſs. They triumphed by the wiſdom of their counſels, and the ſuperiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conqueſt. But nevertheleſs, Egypt has given birth to illuſtrious conquerors, as will be obſerved hereafter, when we come to treat of its kings.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Arts and Sciences.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and turned it to profitable ſpeculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it almoſt ignorant of nothing which could accompliſh the

[n] Cant. i. 8. Iſa. xxxvi. 9. [o] Diod. p. 70.

mind,

mind, or procure eaſe and happineſs. The diſcoverers of any uſeful invention received, both living and dead, rewards equal to their profitable labours. It is this conſecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and ſtamped them with a divine authority. The firſt libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inſpired the reader with an eager deſire to enter them, and dive into the ſecrets they contained. They were called the * *office for the diſeaſes of the ſoul*, and that very juſtly, becauſe the ſoul was there cured of ignorance, the moſt dangerous and the parent of all her maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always ſerene and unclouded, they were ſome of the firſt who obſerved the courſes of the planets. Theſe obſervations led them to regulate the year † from the courſe of the ſun; for as Diodorus obſerves, their year, from the moſt remote antiquity, was compoſed of three hundred ſixty-five days and ſix hours. To adjuſt the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſurveys; and this firſt taught them geometry. They were great obſervers of nature, which, in a climate ſo ſerene, and under ſo intenſe a ſun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this ſtudy and application, they invented or improved the ſcience of phyſic. The ſick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the phyſician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the obſervations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the ſacred books. While theſe rules were obſerved, the phyſician was not anſwerable for the ſuc-

* ψυχης ἰατρειον.

† It will not ſeem ſurpriſing that the Egyptians, who were the moſt ancient obſervers of the celeſtial motions, ſhould have arrived to this knowledge; when it is conſidered, that the lunar year, made uſe of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears ſo inconvenient and irregular, ſuppoſed nevertheleſs a knowledge of the ſolar year, ſuch as Diodorus Siculus aſcribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at firſt ſight, by calculating their intercalations, that thoſe who firſt divided the year in this manner, were not ignorant, that to three hundred ſixty-five days, ſome hours were to be added, to keep pace with the ſun. Their only error lay, in the ſuppoſition, that only ſix hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almoſt eleven minutes more was requiſite.

ceſs

cess; otherwise a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked indeed the temerity of empirics; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its just perfection. Every physician, [p] if Herodotus may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike with admiration, and in which were displayed the magnificence of the princes, who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts in which their greatest beauty consisted; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remains to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them: all this, I say, shows the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and all other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

[q] The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of that sort of exercise, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health; nor of music*, which they considered as an useless and dangerous diversion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

CHAP. V.

Of Husbandmen, Shepherds, and Artificers.

[r] HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds. The body politic requires a superiority and subordination of its several members;

[p] Lib. ii. c. 84. [q] Diod. l. i. p. 73. [r] Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68.

* Την δε μουσικην νομιζουσιν ου μονον αχρηστον υπαρχειν, αλλα ϗ βλαβεραν ως εκθηλυνουσαν τας των ανδρων ψυχας.

for as in the natural body, the eye may be ſaid to hold the firſt rank, yet its luſtre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on thoſe parts which are leſs honourable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the prieſts, ſoldiers, and ſcholars were diſtinguiſhed by particular honours; but all profeſſions, to the meaneſt, had their ſhare in the public eſteem, becauſe the deſpiſing any man, whoſe labours, however mean, were uſeful to the ſtate, was thought a crime.

A better reaſon than the foregoing, might have inſpired them at the firſt with theſe ſentiments of equity and moderation, which they ſo long preſerved. As they all deſcended from * Cham, their common father, the memory of their origin occurring freſh to the minds of all in thoſe firſt ages, eſtabliſhed among them a kind of equality, and ſtamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every perſon derived from the common ſtock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which perſons of the loweſt rank are treated, are owing merely to the diſtance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meaneſt plebeian, when his deſcent is traced back to the ſource, is equally noble with thoſe of the moſt elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profeſſion in Egypt was conſidered as grovelling or ſordid. By this means arts were raiſed to their higheſt perfection. The honour which cheriſhed them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life aſſigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to ſon. Two profeſſions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exerciſed from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his anceſtors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Beſides, this wholeſome inſtitution which had been eſtabliſhed anciently throughout Egypt, extinguiſhed all irregular ambition; and taught every man to ſit down contented with his condition, without

* Or Ham.

aſpiring

aſpiring to one more elevated, from intereſt, vain-glory, or levity.

From this ſource flowed numberleſs inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more eaſy. I once could not believe that [a] Diodorus was in earneſt, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian induſtry, viz. that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the ſitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curioſity, and is ſaid to be practiſed in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians ſtow eggs in ovens, which are heated ſo temperately, and with ſuch juſt proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from theſe ovens are as ſtrong as thoſe which are hatched the natural way. The ſeaſon of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During theſe four months, upwards of three hundred thouſand eggs are laid in theſe ovens, which, though they are not all ſucceſsful, they nevertheleſs produce vaſt numbers of fowls at an eaſy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a juſt degree of heat, which muſt not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are beſtowed in heating theſe ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, ſay theſe travellers, to obſerve the hatching of theſe chickens, ſome of which ſhow at firſt nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; theſe laſt, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting ſpectacle. [b] Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels, has collected the obſervations of other travellers on this ſubject. [c] Pliny likewiſe mentions it; but it appears, from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs*.

[a] Diod. l. i. p. 61. [b] Tom. II. p. 64. [c] Lib. x. c. 54.

* The words of Pliny referred to by Mr. Rollin are theſe: *Nuper inde fortaſſe inventum, ut Ova in calido loco impoſita paleis igne medio foverentur fumo.*

I have said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered*. It was, indeed, to those two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state and policy: and we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem; though it is from them that the most elevated ranks (as we esteem them) are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the delights of life. "For," says Abbe Fleury, in his admirable work, Of the Manners of the Israelites, where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, "it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastic: and, whatever artifice and craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money; yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals which it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we compare

homine versante, pariterque et statu die illinc erumperet fœtus. He speaks of this invention as modern, and seems to refer it to the curiosity of Livia the mother of Tiberius Cæsar, who, desirous of having a male child, put an egg into her bosom, and when she parted with it, delivered it to one of her women to preserve the heat. This she made an augury to guess at the sex of the child she had then in her womb; and we are told, says Pliny, that she was not deceived. It is probable Mr. Rollin may have met with some other place in Pliny favourable to his sentiment, though after some search I cannot find any.

* Hogherds, in particular had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus (l. ii. c. 47.) tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

men's

men's different ſtations of life together, we give the loweſt place to the huſbandman: and with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with ſloth, uſeleſs to the public, and void of all merit, has the preference, merely becauſe he has more money, and lives a more eaſy and delightful life.

"But let us image to ourſelves a country where ſo great a difference is not made between the ſeveral conditions; where the life of a nobleman is not made to conſiſt in idleneſs and doing nothing; but in a careful preſervation of his liberty; that is, in a due ſubjection to the laws and the conſtitution; by a man's ſubſiſting upon his eſtate without any dependance, and being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean and baſe compliances: a country, where ſloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of things neceſſary for life, are had in their juſt contempt; and where pleaſure is leſs valued than health and bodily ſtrength: in ſuch a country, it will be much more for a man's reputation to plough, and keep flocks, than to waſte all his hours in ſauntering from place to place, in gaming, and expenſive diverſions." But we need not have recourſe to Plato's commonwealth for inſtances of men who have led theſe uſeful lives. It was thus that the greateſt part of mankind lived during near four thouſand years; and that not only the Iſraelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to ſay, nations the moſt civilized, and moſt renowned for arms and wiſdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle: one of which (without ſaying any thing of hemp and flax ſo neceſſary for our clothing) ſupplies us, by corn, fruits, and pulſe, with not only a plentiful but delicious nouriſhment; and the other, beſides its ſupply of exquiſite meats to cover our tables, almoſt alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the ſkins and ſtuffs it furniſhes.

Princes are commonly deſirous, and their intereſt certainly requires it, that the peaſant who, in a literal ſenſe, ſuſtains the heat and burden of the day, and pays ſo great a pro-

a proportion of the national taxes, ſhould meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the inſatiable and mercileſs avarice of thoſe who are appointed to collect their revenues. Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us a fine ſaying of Tiberius on this head. [x] A prefect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtleſs with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a ſum much larger than was cuſtomary; that prince, who in the beginning of his reign, thought, or at leaſt ſpoke juſtly, anſwered, "[*] That it was his deſign not to ſlay, but to ſheer his ſheep."

CHAP. VI.

Of the Fertility of Egypt.

UNDER this head, I ſhall treat only of ſome plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

Papyrus. This is a plant, from the root of which ſhoot out a great many triangular ſtalks, to the height of ſix or ſeven cubits. [y] The ancients writ at firſt upon palm leaves; next on the inſide of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impreſſed with an inſtrument called ſtylus, ſharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written; which gave occaſion to the following expreſſion of Horace:

Sæpe ſtylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi ſint
Scripturus: Sat. x. ver. 72.

Oft turn your ſtyle, if you deſire to write
Things that will bear a ſecond reading——

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many corrections. At laſt the

[x] Diod. l. lvii. p. 608. [y] Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

[*] Κειρεσθεςι μὲν τα προβατα, αλλ' ουκ απο υρεσθαι βουλομαι. Diod. l. lvii.

uſe

uſe of paper * was introduced, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing; and this Papyrus was likewiſe called Byblus.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos
Noverat. LUCAN.

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The watery Byblos.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention †, ſo uſeful to life, that it preſerves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes thoſe who achieved them. Varro aſcribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The ſame Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, ſubſtituted parchment inſtead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whoſe library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which carried the advantage over paper. Parchment is the ſkin of a ſheep dreſſed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum, from Pergamus, whoſe kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuſcripts are either upon parchment, or vellum, which is calf-ſkin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to ſee white fine paper, wrought out of filthy rags picked up in the ſtreets. [z] The plant Papyrus was uſeful likewiſe for ſails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.

Linum. Flax is a plant whoſe bark, full of fibres or ſtrings, is uſeful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and car-

[z] Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

* The Papyrus was divided into thin flakes (into which it naturally parted) which being laid on a table, and moiſtened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards preſſed together, and dried in the ſun.

† *Poſtea promiſcuè patuit uſus rei, qua conſtat immortalitas hominum. Chartæ uſu maxime humanitas conſtat in memoria.*

ried

ried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and not only the priests, but all persons of distinction generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The making of it employed a great number of hands, especially of the women, as appears from that passage of Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind, that it should interrupt every kind of labour. "[a] Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net-work shall be confounded." We likewise find in scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by [b] Moses upon Egypt, was the destruction of all the flax which was then bolled. This storm was in March.

Byssus. [c] This was another kind of flax extremely fine and small, which often received a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the Asbeston, or Asbestinum (i. e. the incombustible flax) places the Byssus in the next rank; and says, that it served as an ornament to the ladies *. It appears from the holy scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt cloth made of this fine flax was brought. "[d] Fine linen with broidered works from Egypt."

I take no notice of the Lotus, or Lote-tree, a plant in great request with the Egyptians, and whose berries served them in former times for bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the

[a] Isa. xix. 9. [b] Exod. ix. 31. [c] Plin. ibid. [d] Ezek. xxvii. 7.

* *Proximus Byssino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam est etiam* [scilicet Linum] *quod ignibus non absumetur, vivum id vocant, ardenteque in focis conviviorum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis splendescentes igni magis, quam possent aquis.* i. e. A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax, and we have seen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining rooms; and receiving a lustre and a cleanness from flames, which no water could have given it.

Lotophagi,

Lotophagi, or Lotus-eaters; because they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it forget all the sweets of their native country *, as Ulysses found to his cost in his return from Troy.

In general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny † observes, have sufficed singly for the nourishment of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches the Nile, from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the dreary desert. "Who," say they in a plaintive, and at the same time seditious tone, "[f] shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic. [g] We sat by the flesh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full."

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having menaced Constantinople, that for the future no more corn should be im-

[f] Numb. xi. 4, 5. [g] Exod. xvi. 3.

* Των δ' οςις λωτοιο φαγοι 'μελιηδεα καρπον,
Ουκ ετ' απαγγειλαι παλιν ηθελεν, ουδε νεεσθαι.
Odyss. ix. ver. 94, 95.
Μη πωτις λωτοιο φαγων, νοςοιο λαθηται. ver. 102.

† *Ægyptus frugum quidem fertilissima, sed ut prope sola iis carere possit tanta est ciborum ex herbis abundantia.* Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

ported to it from Alexandria; incenſed the emperor Conſtantine againſt that holy biſhop, becauſe he knew that his capital city could not ſubſiſt without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The ſame reaſon induced all the emperors of Rome to take ſo great a care of Egypt, which they conſidered as the nurſing mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheleſs, the ſame river which enabled this province to ſubſiſt the two moſt populous cities in the world, ſometimes reduced even Egypt itſelf to the moſt terrible famine: and it is aſtoniſhing that Joſeph's wiſe foreſight, which in fruitful years had made proviſion for ſeaſons of ſterility, ſhould not have hinted to theſe ſo-much-boaſted politicians, a like care againſt the changes and inconſtancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints with wonderful ſtrength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts than to his expreſſions.

The Egyptians, ſays Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor ſun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently conteſt the prize of plenty with the moſt fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal ſterility; from the greateſt part of their territories being deſerted and left unwatered by the Nile, whoſe inundation is the ſource and ſure ſtandard of their abundance. They then * implored that aſſiſtance from their prince, which they uſed to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer, than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined, that this misfortune had befallen them only to diſtinguiſh with greater luſtre, the generoſity and goodneſs of

* *Inundatione, id eſt, libertate regio fraudata, ſic opem Cæſaris invocavit, ut ſolet amnem ſuum.*

Cæſar.

Cæsar. * It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that, though it was conquered, it nevertheless fed its conquerors; that, by means of its river, either abundance or scarcity was entirely in its disposal. But we now have returned to the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced, by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, had found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, at such distance from us, and which was so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The † Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility.

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride, with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recals to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings, "[h] Behold

[h] Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.

* *Pervebuerat antiquitas urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti alti sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias. Recepit frumenta quæ miserat, deportataque messes revexit.*

† *Nilus Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit.*

I am

I am againſt thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is my own, and I have made it for myſelf." God perceived an inſupportable pride in the heart of this prince: a ſenſe of ſecurity and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely on the influences of heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or thoſe of his predeceſſors: "The river is mine, and I have made it."

Before I conclude this ſecond part of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me, to beſpeak the attention of my readers to different paſſages ſcattered in the hiſtory of Abraham, Jacob, Joſeph, and Moſes, which confirm and illuſtrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this ſubject. They will there obſerve the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the reſt of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all tranſactions, had a regular council, a choſen number of miniſters, armies ever well maintained and diſciplined, and of every order of ſoldiery, horſe, foot, armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces, overſeers or guardians of the public granaries; wiſe and exact diſpenſers of the corn lodged in them; a court compoſed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a cup-bearer, a maſter of his pantry; in a word, all things that compoſe a prince's houſehold, and conſtitute a magnificent court. [1] But above all theſe, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatnings of God were held, the inſpector of all actions, and the judge of kings themſelves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledge to be a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing deſtruction on a nation.

[1] Gen. xii, 20, 26.

PART

PART THE THIRD.

The History of the Kings of Egypt.

NO part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain, than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, as though it seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. [k] According to its own historians, first, gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years. But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim, is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manethon has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manethon was an Egyptian high-priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: he wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs, preserved in the Archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time, of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes *, who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manethon. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties, did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four

[k] Diod. l. i. p. 41. * An historian of Cyrene.

principal

principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings, who have reigned in Egypt, most of whom are only transmitted to us by their names. I shall only take notice of what seems to me most proper to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, in the beginnings at least, which are very obscure; or pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes, whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myself or my readers, in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most capable can scarce disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned * pieces, in which this subject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests, whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they are, I mean fictions.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraim, the son of [1] Cham, in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyses, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

[1] Or Ham.

* Sir John Marsham's Chronic. Capon. Father Pezron, the Dissertation of Tournemine, and Abbe Sevin, &c.

The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, extended to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagides or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra the last queen of Egypt in 3974, and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the Æras to which they belong.

The Kings of Egypt.

[m] MENES. Historians are unanimously agreed that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraim, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtless was he who was afterwards worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, [n] Chus, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraim in Egypt, which generally is called in scripture after his name, and by that of Cham* his father; Phut took possession of that part of Africa, which lies westward of Egypt: and Canaan, of the country which has since borne his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people, who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than the oblivion of the true one.

[o] I return to Misraim. He is agreed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first

[m] A. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188. [n] Or Cush, Gen. x. 6.
[o] Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 42.

* The footsteps of its old name (Mesraim) remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch, it was called Χημια, Chemia, by an easy corruption of Chamia, and this for Cham or Ham.

king

king of Egypt, the inſtitutor of the worſhip of the gods, and the ceremonies of the ſacrifices.

BUSIRIS, ſome ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the ſeat of his Empire. We have elſewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Buſiris, ſo infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDYAS. [p] Diodorus gives a very particular deſcription of many magnificent edifices, raiſed by this king; one of which was adorned with ſculptures and paintings of exquiſite beauty, repreſenting his expedition againſt the Bactrians, a people of Aſia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an aſſembly of the judges, whoſe preſident wore, on his breaſt, a picture of truth, with her eyes ſhut, and himſelf ſurrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly verſed in the laws, and impartial in the adminiſtration of them.

The king likewiſe was painted here, offering to the gods gold and ſilver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the ſum of 16 millions *.

Not far from hence was ſeen a magnificent library, the oldeſt mentioned in hiſtory. Its title or inſcription on the front was, *The office, or treaſury, for the diſeaſes of the ſoul.* Near it were ſtatues, repreſenting all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made ſuitable offerings; by which he ſeemed to be deſirous of informing poſterity, that his life and reign had been crowned with piety to the gods, and juſtice to men.

His mauſoleum diſcovered an uncommon magnificence; it was encompaſſed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which ſhowed the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, moon, and the reſt of the planets. [q] For ſo old as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each conſiſting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and ſix hours. The ſpectator

[p] Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45. [q] See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, p. 30.
* Three thouſand two hundred myriads of *Minæ*.

did

did not know which to admire moſt in this ſtately monument, whether the richneſs of its materials, or the genius and induſtry of the artiſts and workmen.

[r] UCHOREUS, one of the ſucceſſors of Oſymandyas, built the city of Memphis. This city was 150 furlongs, or more than ſeven leagues in circumference, and ſtood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itſelf into ſeveral branches or ſtreams. Southward from the city, he raiſed a very high mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. Theſe were faced with ſtone, and raiſed, near the city, by ſtrong cauſeys, the whole deſigned to ſecure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incurſions of the enemy. A city ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it was almoſt the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became ſoon the uſual reſidence of the Egyptian kings. It kept poſſeſſion of this honour, till it was forced to reſign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

MOERIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

[s] Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when ſtrangers, called Shepherd-kings (Hycſos in the Egyptian language) from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and ſeized a great part of lower Egypt, and Memphis itſelf; but upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes exiſted till the reign of Seſoſtris. Theſe foreign princes governed about 260 years.

[t] Under one of theſe princes, called Pharaoh in the ſcripture (a name common to all the kings of Egypt) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was expoſed to great hazard, on account of her exquiſite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, ſhe was by him taken from Abraham, upon the ſuppoſition, that ſhe was not his wife, but only his ſiſter.

[u] THETHMOSIS, or Amoſis, having expelled the Sheherd-kings, reigned in lower Egypt.

[r] Diod. p. 46. [s] A. M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084. [t] A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920. Gen. xii. 10, 20. [u] A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1825.

Long

[x] Long after his reign, Joſeph was brought a ſlave into Egypt, by ſome Iſmaelitiſh merchants; ſold to Potiphar; and, by a ſeries of wonderful events, enjoyed the ſupreme authority, by his being raiſed to the chief employment of the kingdom. I ſhall, paſs over his hiſtory, as it is ſo univerſally known. But muſt take notice of a remark of Juſtin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius [y], an excellent hiſtorian of the Auguſtan age, *viz.* that Joſeph, the youngeſt of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, fired by envy, had ſold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven* with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preſerved, by this uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely careſſed by the king.

[z] Jacob alſo went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindeſt treatment from the Egyptians, whilſt Joſeph's important ſervices were freſh in their memories. But after his death, ſay the ſcriptures, "[a] there aroſe up a new king, which knew not Joſeph."

[b] RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to Archbiſhop Uſher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in ſcripture. He reigned ſixty-ſix years, and oppreſſed the Iſraelites in a moſt grievous manner. "[c] He ſet over them taſk-maſters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treaſure-cities†, Pithom and Raamſes—and the Egyptians made the children of Iſrael to ſerve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field; all their ſervice wherein they made them ſerve, was with rigour." This king had two ſons, Amenophis and Buſiris.

[d] AMENOPHIS, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. He was

[x] A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728. [y] Lib. xxxvi. c. 2. [z] A. M. 2298. Ant. J. C. 1706. [a] Exod. i. 8. [b] A.M. 2427. Ant. J.C. 1577. [c] Exod. i. 11, 13, 14. [d] A. M. 2493. Ant. J. C. 1511.

* Juſtin aſcribes this gift of heaven to Joſeph's ſkill in magical arts. *Cum magicas ibi artes* (Egypto ſc.) *ſolerti ingenio percepiſſet*, &c.

† Heb. *urbes theſaurorum* 70 *urbes munitas*. Theſe cities appointed to preſerve, as in a ſtore-houſe, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. *Vatab.*

the

the Pharaoh, under whoſe reign the Iſraelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drowned in his paſſage through the Red-Sea.

[e] Father Tournemine makes Seſoſtris, of whom we ſhall ſpeak immediately, the Pharaoh who raiſed the perſecution againſt the Iſraelites, and oppreſſed them with the moſt painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given, by Diodorous, of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; ſo that we may place the memorable event of the paſſage of the Red-Sea, under his ſon Pheron *; and the characteriſtic of impiety aſcribed to him by Herodotus, greatly ſtrengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have propoſed to follow in this hiſtory, excuſes me from entering into chronological diſcuſſions.

[f] Diodorus, ſpeaking of the Red-Sea, has made one remark very worthy our obſervation; a tradition (ſays that hiſtorian) has been tranſmitted through the whole nation, from father to ſon, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the ſea, ſo that its bottom was ſeen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous paſſage of Moſes, over the Red-Sea, is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purpoſely to admoniſh young ſtudents, not to ſlip over, in their peruſal of authors, theſe precious remains of antiquity; eſpecially when they bear, like this paſſage, any relation to religion.

Archbiſhop Uſher ſays, that Amenophis left two ſons, one called Seſothis or Seſoſtris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two ſons Egyptus and Danaus.

[g] SESOSTRIS was not only one of the moſt powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greateſt conquerors that antiquity boaſts of.

His father, whether by inſpiration, caprice, or, as

[e] A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491. [f] Lib. iii. p. 74.
[g] Herod. l. ii. c. 102, 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48, 54.

* This name bears a great reſemblance to Pharaoh, ſo common to the Egyptian kings.

the

the Egyptians ſay, by the authority of an oracle, formed a deſign of making his ſon a conqueror. This he ſet about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way; all the male-children born the ſame day with Seſoſtris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the ſame care beſtowed on Seſoſtris, with whom they were lodged. He could not poſſibly have given him more faithful miniſters, or officers who more zealouſly deſired the ſucceſs of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of ſuſtaining with eaſe the toils of war. They were never ſuffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horſe-back, a conſiderable race. Hunting was their moſt common exerciſe.

[h] Ælian remarks that Seſoſtris was taught by Mercury, who inſtructed him in politics, and the arts of government. This Mercury, is he whom the Greeks called Triſmegiſtus, *i. e* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almoſt every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear ſuch evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who alſo was very famous amongſt the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than him in queſtion. Jamblicus, a prieſt of Egypt, affirms, that it was cuſtomary with the Egyptians, to publiſh all new books or inventions under the name of Hermes or Mercury.

When Seſoſtris was more advanced in years, his father ſent him againſt the Arabians, in order that by fighting againſt them, he might acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirſt, and ſubdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

Accuſtomed by this conqueſt to martial toils, he was next ſent by his father to try his fortune weſtward. He

[h] Τον νηματα εκμυσω θηναι. Lib. 12. c. 4.

invaded

invaded Lybia, and ſubdued the greateſt part of that vaſt continent.

[1] SESOSTRIS. In the time of this expedition, his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greateſt enterpriſes. He formed no leſs a deſign than that of the conqueſt of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domeſtic ſecurity; in winning the hearts of his ſubjects by his generoſity, juſtice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was no leſs ſtudious to gain the affection of his officers and ſoldiers, who were ever ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his ſervice; perſuaded that his enterpriſes would all be unſucceſsful, unleſs his army ſhould be attached to his perſon, by all the ties of eſteem, affection, and intereſt. He divided the country into thirty-ſix governments (called Nomi) and beſtowed them on perſons of merit, and the moſt approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requiſite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greateſt bravery and reputation, that were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had ſeventeen hundred of theſe officers, who all were capable of inſpiring his troops with reſolution, a love of diſcipline, and a zeal for the ſervice of their prince. His army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and twenty-four thouſand horſe, beſides twenty-ſeven thouſand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Æthiopia, ſituated to the ſouth of Egypt. He made it tributary, and obliged the nations of it to furniſh him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred ſail, and ordering it to ſail to the Red-Sea, made himſelf maſter of the iſles and cities lying on the coaſt of that ſea. He himſelf heading his land army, overran and ſubdued Aſia with amazing rapidity, and pierced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in after-times Alexander himſelf had ever done; for he ſubdued the

[1] A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.

countries

countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the Ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighbouring countries were to reſiſt him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, Armenia, and Cappadocia were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, ſituated to the eaſt of the Black-Sea, where the Egyptian cuſtoms and manners have been ever ſince retained. Herodotus ſaw in Aſia Minor, from one ſea to the other, monuments of his victories. In ſeveral countries was read the following inſcription engraven on pillars: "Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms." Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, ſome nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the leaſt reſiſtance. This diſparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The ſcarcity of proviſions in Thrace ſtopped the progreſs of his conqueſts, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumſtance is obſerved in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preſerving his acquiſitions; but contenting himſelf with the glory of having ſubdued and deſpoiled ſo many nations; after having made wild havoc up and down for nine years, he confined himſelf almoſt within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neigbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footſteps of this new empire, either under himſelf or his ſucceſſors.

He returned therefore laden with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed nations; dragging after him a numberleſs multitude of captives, and covered with greater glory than his predeceſſors; that glory I mean which employs ſo many tongues and pens in its praiſe; which invades a great number of provinces in a hoſtile way, and is often productive of numberleſs calamities. He rewarded his officers and ſoldiers with a truly royal magnificence,

magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleaſure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in ſuch a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and eaſy repoſe, the juſt reward of their paſt toils.

With regard to himſelf, for ever careful of his own reputation, and ſtill more of making his power advantageous to his ſubjects, he employed the repoſe which peace allowed him, in raiſing works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name; works, in which the art and induſtry of the workmen was more admired than the immenſe ſums which had been expended on them.

An hundred famous temples, raiſed as ſo many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the firſt, as well as the moſt illuſtrious teſtimonies of his victories; and he took care to publiſh in the inſcriptions of them, that theſe mighty works had been completed without the aſſiſtance of any of his ſubjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in theſe monuments of his conqueſts. The ſcriptures take notice of ſomething like this, where they ſpeak of the buildings of Solomon*. But he was eſpecially ſtudious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Peluſium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a deſign of deſtroying him, in that city, with his wife and children, by ſetting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was, the raiſing, in every part of Egypt, a conſiderable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order for them to be a ſecurity for men and beaſts, during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the ſea, he cut, on both ſides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of proviſions;

* Chron. viii. 9. But of the children of Iſrael did Solomon make no ſervants for his work.

and

and for the ſettling an eaſy correſpondence between ſuch cities as were moſt diſtant from one another. Beſides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by theſe canals, made inacceſſible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had ſo often haraſſed it, by repeated incurſions.

He went farther: to ſecure Egypt from the inroads of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eaſtern coaſt from Peluſium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of ſeven leagues*.

Seſoſtris might have been conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt boaſted heroes of antiquity, had not the luſtre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarniſhed by a thirſt of glory, and a blind fondneſs for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at ſtated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occaſion, he treated them with ſome humanity and generoſity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he cauſed theſe princes, four a-breaſt, to be harneſſed to his car, inſtead of horſes, and valued himſelf upon his being thus drawn by the lords and ſovereigns of other nations. What I am moſt ſurpriſed at, is, that Diodorus ſhould rank this fooliſh and inhuman vanity, among the moſt ſhining actions of this prince.

[k] Being grown blind in his old age, he diſpatched himſelf, after having reigned thirty-three years, and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire nevertheleſs did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there ſtill remained, ſo low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which ſhewed the extent of Egypt under [l] Seſoſtris, and the immenſe tributes which were paid to it †.

[k] Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60. [l] Tacit. An. l. ii.

* 150 ſtadia, about 18 miles Engliſh.

† *Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur*—— inſcribed on pillars. were read the tributes impoſed on vanquiſhed nations, which were not inferior to thoſe now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.

I now go back to some facts which should have been mentioned before, as they fell out in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and therefore will now be only glanced at.

About the Æra in question, the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. [m] The colony, which Cecrops led out of Egypt built twelve cities, or rather so many towns, of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.

We observed, that the brother of Sesostris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him, in his return to Egypt, from his conquests. [n] But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

[o] BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barbarously cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country: this was probably during the absence of Sesostris.

[p] About the same time, Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece, the invention of letters. Some pretend, that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury, the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned * agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a small nation, being

[m] A. M. 2448. [n] A. M. 2530. [o] A. M. 2533. [p] A. M. 2549.

* The reader may consult, on this subject, two learned dissertations of Abbe Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of the History of the Academy of Inscriptions.

comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves, that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters *into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order with Herodotus.

[q] PHERON succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. [r] Herodotus relates but one action of his, which shows how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the wild havoc which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

[s] PROTEUS. †He was of Memphis, where in Herodotus's time, his temple was still standing, in which was

[q] A. M. 2547. Ant. J. C. 1457. [r] Herod. l. i c. 111. Diod. p. 54.
[s] A. M. 2800. Ant. J. C. 1204. Herod. l. ii. c. 112, 120.

* The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, o, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ζ, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ξ, ψ.

† I do not think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of Archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with a great many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king, who was drowned in the Red Sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty-three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, succeeded immediately the first; since Proteus

was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger. It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had ſtolen, was drove by a ſtorm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the ſtrongeſt terms for his baſe perfidy and guilt, in ſtealing the wife of his hoſt, and with her all the effects in his houſe. He added, that the only reaſon why he did not puniſh him with death (as his crime deſerved) was, becauſe the Egyptians did not care to imbrue their hands in the blood of ſtrangers: that he would keep Helen with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to reſtore them to their owner: that as for himſelf (Paris) he muſt either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was cloſely purſued by the Grecian army. The Greeks ſummoned the Trojans to ſurrender Helen, and with her, all the treaſures of which her huſband had been plundered. The Trojans anſwered, that neither Helen, nor her treaſures, were in their city. And indeed was it at all likely, ſays Herodotus, that Priam, who was ſo wiſe an old prince, ſhould chooſe to ſee his children and country deſtroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction they deſired? But it was to no purpoſe for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly purſuaded that they were trifled with, perſiſted obſtinately in their unbelief. The deity, continues the ſame hiſtorian, being reſolved that the Trojans, by the total deſtruction of their city, ſhould teach

Proteus lived at the time of the ſiege of Troy, which, according to Uſher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almoſt total ſilence on the Egyptian kings after Seſoſtris, was owing to his ſenſe of this difficulty. I ſuppoſe a long interval to have been between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus (lib. cliv.) fills it up with a great many kings; and the ſame muſt be ſaid of ſome of the following kings.

the affrighted world this leſſon*: THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. Menelaus, in his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who reſtored him Helen with all her treaſure. Herodotus proves, from ſome paſſages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RHAMPSINITUS. The treaſury built by this king, who was the richeſt of all his predeceſſors, and his deſcent into hell, as they are related by [t] Herodotus, have ſo much the air of romance and fiction, that they deſerve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been ſome ſhadow, at leaſt of judgment and moderation in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty uſurped their place.

[u] CHEOPS and CEPHRENUS. Theſe two princes, who were truly brothers by the ſimilitude of their manners, ſeem to have ſtrove which of them ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf moſt, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty-ſix years after him. They kept the temples ſhut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of ſacrifices under the ſevereſt penalties. On the other hand, they oppreſſed their ſubjects by employing them in the moſt grievous and uſeleſs works; and ſacrificed the lives of numberleſs multitudes of men, merely to gratify a ſenſeleſs ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude and a boundleſs expence. It is remarkable, that thoſe ſtately pyramids, which have ſo long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and mercileſs cruelty of thoſe princes.

[t] L. ii. c. 121, 123. [u] Herod. l. ii. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57.

* Ὡς τῶν μεγαλῶν ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

MYCERINUS.

*MYCERINUS. He was the ſon of Cheops, but of a character oppoſite to that of his father. So far from walking in his ſteps, he deteſted his conduct, and purſued quite different meaſures. He again opened the temples of the gods, reſtored the ſacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his ſubjects, and make them forget their paſt miſeries; and believed himſelf ſet over them for no other purpoſe but to exerciſe juſtice, and to make them taſte all the bleſſings of an equitable and peaceful adminiſtration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, eaſed their miſery, and thought himſelf not ſo much the maſter as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt reſounded with his praiſes, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally have concluded, that ſo prudent and humane a conduct muſt have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwiſe. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity conſiſted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were ſtill continued in Herodotus's time. This hiſtorian informs us, that in the city of Sais, exquiſite odours were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this princeſs; and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but ſeven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, in enquiring the reaſon why ſo long and proſperous a reign had been indulged his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious; whilſt his own, which he had endeavoured ſo carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was poſſible for him to do, ſhould be ſo ſhort and unhappy: he was anſwered, that theſe were the very cauſes of it, it being the will of the gods, to oppreſs and afflict Egypt, during the ſpace of 150 years, as a puniſhment for its crimes; and

* Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 58.

that

that his reign, which was appointed, like thoſe of the preceding monarchs, to be of fifty years continuance, was ſhortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewiſe built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimenſions to that of his father.

[y] ASYCHIS. He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbids a ſon to borrow money without giving the dead body of his father by way of ſecurity for it. The law added, that in caſe the ſon took no care to redeem his father's body, by reſtoring the loan, both himſelf and his children ſhould be deprived for ever of the rights of ſepulture.

He valued himſelf for having ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto ſeen. The following inſcription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it. COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS*.

If we ſuppoſe the ſix preceding reigns (the exact duration of ſome of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and ſeventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years, to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I ſhall place a few circumſtances related in holy ſcripture.

[z] PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Iſrael; who received her in that part of Jeruſalem, called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

SESACH or Shiſhak, otherwiſe called Seſonchis.

[a] It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He

[y] Herod. l. ii. c. 136. [z] A. M 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013. 1 Kings iii. 1. [a] A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978. 1 Kings xi. 40. and c. xii.

* The remainder of the inſcription, as we find it in Herodotus, is, "for men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks (πλινθους ειρυσαν) out of the mud which ſtuck to them, and gave this form."

abode

abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sesach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. [b] He came with twelve hundred chariots of war, and sixty thousand horse. He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all * Lybians, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. He seized upon all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king, and the princes of Israel, having humbled themselves and asked the protection of the God of Israel; he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that he would not, because they humbled themselves, destroy them all as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sesach: in order *that they might know* the difference of *his service, and the service of the kingdoms of the* † *country*. Sesach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, *and even also the 300 shields of gold which Solomon had made.*

[c] ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Asa king of Judah. His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Asa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served: "Lord, says he, it is nothing for thee to help whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee." A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with

[b] A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971. 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.
[c] A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 741. 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13.
* The English version of the Bible says, The Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.
† Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.

terror;

terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, being *deſtroyed before the Lord, and before his hoſt.*

[d] ANYSIS. He was blind, and under his reign,

SABACHUS, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. He reigned with great clemency and juſtice. Inſtead of putting to death ſuch criminals, as had been ſentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the cauſeys, on which the reſpective cities, to which they belonged, were ſituated. He built ſeveral magnificent temples, and among the reſt, one in the city of Bubaſte, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant deſcription. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia; and left the throne of Egypt to Anyſis, who, during this time, had concealed himſelf in the fens. [e] It is believed that this Sabachus was the ſame with So, whoſe aid was implored by Hoſea king of Iſrael, againſt Salmahaſer king of Aſſyria.

SETHON. He reigned fourteen years.

[f] He is the ſame with Sevechus, the ſon of Sabacon or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned ſo long over Egypt. This prince, ſo far from diſcharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of thoſe of a prieſt; he cauſing himſelf to be conſecrated high-prieſt of Vulcan. Abandoning himſelf entirely to ſuperſtition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm perſuaſion that he ſhould never have occaſion for their aſſiſtance; he therefore was ſo far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſuch lands, as his predeceſſors had given them.

He was ſoon made ſenſible of their reſentment in a war that broke out ſuddenly, and from which he delivered himſelf ſolely by a miraculous protection, if

[d] Herod. l. ii. cap. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 65. [e] A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725. 2 Kings xvii. 4. [f] A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

Herodotus

Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacharib (so Herodotus calls this prince) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed the god. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacharib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words issuing out of his mouth; LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS*.

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings. [g] We there see, that Sennacharib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition, and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrian in a pitched battle. He

[g] Chap. xvii.

* Ες εμε τις δρεων, ευσβης εςω.

purſued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waſte the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general aſſault to Jeruſalem, which then ſeemed loſt to all hopes, the deſtroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Aſſyrians; deſtroyed a hundred four ſcore and five thouſand men by fire and ſword; and proved evidently, that they had great reaſon to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promiſe of the God of Iſrael.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by diſguiſing and corrupting the circumſtances of it. Nevertheleſs the foot-ſteps of this hiſtory, though ſo much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from a hiſtorian of ſo great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Iſaiah had foretold, at ſeveral times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, ſeemingly, with ſuch prudence, conducted with the greateſt ſkill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no ſervice to Jeruſalem, but even deſtructive to Egypt itſelf, whoſe ſtrongeſt cities would be taken, and its inhabitants of all ages and ſexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31ſt, &c. chapters of the ſecond book of Kings.

It was doubtleſs in this period, that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon* ſpoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet ſays, [b] *that ſhe was carried away*—that *her young children were daſhed in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets*—that the enemy *caſt loſts for her honourable men, and* that *all her great men were bound in chains.* He obſerves, that all theſe misfortunes befel

[b] iii. 8. 10.

* The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; becauſe Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this ſtood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, furnamed Dioſpolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amon is the ſame with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was ſince built. Perhaps there was another city there, which alſo was called No-Amon.

that

that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia *were her ſtrength*; which ſeems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here ſpeaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without ſome difficulties, and is contradicted by ſome learned men. It ſuffices for me, to have hinted it to the reader.

[i] Till the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to a hundred years.

They counted the like number of prieſts and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had ſucceeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word, ſignifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian prieſts ſhowed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden coloſſal ſtatues of theſe Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to loſe themſelves as it were in a remote antiquity, to which no other people pretended.

[k] THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Æthiopian army, to relieve Jeruſalem. After the death of Sethon, who had ſat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca aſcended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the laſt Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians not being able to agree about the ſucceſſion, were two years in a ſtate of anarchy, during which there were great diſorders and confuſions among them.

Twelve Kings.

[l] At laſt, twelve of the principal noblemen, conſpiring together, ſeized upon the kingdom, and divided it into ſo many parts. It was agreed by them, that each ſhould govern his own diſtrict with equal power and authority, and that no one ſhould attempt to invade or ſeize the dominions of another. They thought it neceſſary to

[i] Herod. l. iii. cap. 142. [k] A. M. 3299. Ant. J. C. 705. Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74. [l] A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 685. Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

make

make this agreement, and to bind it with the moſt dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who ſhould offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmoſt harmony: and to leave a famous monument of their concord to poſterity, they jointly, and at a common expence, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building conſiſting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have ſpoke elſewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were aſſiſting at a ſolemn and periodical ſacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the prieſts having preſented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when *Pſammetichus, without any deſign, ſupplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one) and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident ſtruck the reſt of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above-mentioned. They thought it therefore neceſſary to ſecure themſelves from his attempts, and therefore, with one conſent, baniſhed him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Pſammetichus had paſſed ſome years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himſelf for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. Theſe were Grecian ſoldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been caſt upon Egypt by a ſtorm; and were compleatly covered with helmets, cuiraſſes and other arms of braſs. Pſammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had anſwered him, that he ſhould be ſuccoured by brazen men from the ſea-coaſt. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with theſe ſtrangers; engaged them with great promiſes to ſtay with him; privately levied other forces; put theſe Greeks at their head; when giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained ſole poſſeſſor of Egypt.

* He was one of the twelve.

PSAMMETICHUS. [m] As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians, he settled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded;) and, by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that æra, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; as afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government*, thought it high time to look to his frontiers; and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by [n] Diodorus: that the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself in preference to them, quitted the service, they being upwards of two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

Be this as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine,

[m] A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 690. Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.
[n] Lib. i. p. 61. [o] Diod. c. 157.

* This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseth king of Judah.

where

where his career was ſtopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him ſo much trouble, that he was forced to beſiege it twenty-nine years, before he could take it. This is the longeſt ſiege mentioned in ancient hiſtory.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philiſtines. The Egyptians, having ſeized it ſome time before, had fortified it with ſuch care, that it was their ſtrongeſt bulwark on that ſide. Nor could Sennacharib enter Egypt, till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. [p] The Aſſyrians had poſſeſſed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long ſiege juſt now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it.

In this period, the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and laid waſte all Upper Aſia, of which they kept poſſeſſion during twenty-eight years. They puſhed their conqueſts in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Pſammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed ſo far, by his preſents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from theſe dangerous enemies.

[q] Till his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themſelves to be the moſt ancient nation upon earth. Pſammetichus was deſirous to prove this himſelf, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpoſe: he commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually ſhut. They were committed to the care of a ſhepherd, (others ſay, of nurſes, whoſe tongues were cut out) who was to feed them with the milk of goats; and was commanded not to ſuffer any perſon to enter into this hut, nor himſelf to ſpeak even a ſingle word in the hearing of theſe children. At the expiration of two years, as the ſhepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed theſe

[p] Iſa. xx. i. Herod. l. i. c. 105. [q] Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

children,

children, they both cried out with hands extended towards their foſter-father, *beckos*, *beckos*. The ſhepherd ſurpriſed to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, ſent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himſelf might be witneſs to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began in his preſence, to ſtammer out the ſounds abovementioned. Nothing now was wanting but to enquire what nation it was that uſed this word; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themſelves, notwithſtanding their jealouſy of it, and the many ages they had poſſeſſed this glory, were obliged to reſign to them. As goats were brought to theſe children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and hiſtorians do not ſay that they were deaf; ſome are of opinion, that they might have learnt the word *bek*, or *bekkos*, by mimicing the cry of thoſe creatures.

Pſammetichus died in the 24th year of Joſias king of Judah, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Nechao.

* NECHAO. [r] This prince is often called in ſcripture Pharaoh Necho.

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red Sea, by cutting a canal from the one to the other. They are ſeparated at the diſtance of at leaſt a thouſand ſtadia †. After a hundred and twenty thouſand workmen had loſt their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to deſiſt. The oracle which had been conſulted by him, having anſwered, that this new canal would open a paſſage to the Barbarians, (for ſo the Egyptians called all other nations) to invade Egypt.

[r] A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616. Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

* He is called Necho in the Engliſh verſion of the ſcriptures.

† Allowing 625 feet (or 125 geometrical paces) to each ſtadium, the diſtance will be 118 Engliſh miles, and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus ſays, that this deſign was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Perſian. B. ii. c. 158.

Nechao

[1]Nechao was more successful in another enterprise. Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed out of the Red Sea to discover the coasts of Afric, went successfully round them; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese, (by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497) found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

[2]The Babylonians and Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his route through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view, he raised all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, (a city on this side Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolus by Herodotus.) Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprise was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertaken this war, in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea, would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately

[1] Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. l. x. 3, 6. 2. Kings xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-25.

received

received a wound, of which he died at Jeruſalem, whither he had ordered himſelf to be carried.

Nechao, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemiſh, a large city in that country; and ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion of it, by a ſtrong garriſon, returned to his own kingdom, after having been abſent three months from it.

[u] Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoaz had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king at Jeruſalem, without firſt aſking his conſent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy prince was no ſooner arrived there, but he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and ſent priſoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence purſuing his march, he came to Jeruſalem, where he gave the ſcepter to Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim) another of Joſiah's ſons, in the room of his brother; and impoſed an annual tribute on the land, of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold *. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

[x] Herodotus, mentioning this king's expedition, and the victory gained by him at † Magdolus, (as he calls it) ſays, that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he repreſents as ſituated in the mountains of Paleſtine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Aſia Minor: this deſcription can ſuit only Jeruſalem, which was ſituated in the manner above deſcribed, and was then the only city in thoſe parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears beſides from ſcripture, that Nechao, after his victory, won this capital of Judea; for he was there in perſon, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name

[u] 4 Reg. xxiii. 33, 35. [x] P. al. xxvi. 1, 4. [y] Lib. ii. c. 159.

* The Hebrew ſilver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to 353l. 11s. 10½d. ſo that 100 talents } 35359l. 7s. 6d.
English money, make
The gold talent according to the ſame 5075l. 15s. 7½d.

The amount of the whole tribute — 40435l. 8s. 1½d.

† Megiddo.

Cadytis

Cadytis, which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux *.

[y] Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries. [z] This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as [a] Jeremiah had foretold. Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them, from the † little [b] river of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS. [c] His reign was but of six years, and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

[y] A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 607. [z] Jer. xlvi. 2, &c.
[a] 2 Kings xxiv. 7 [b] *A rivo Egypti.* [c] A. M. 3404.
Ant. J. C. 600. Herod. l. ii. c. 160.

* From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet *Holy*, and in the Old Testament was called * Air Hakkodesh*, i.e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed *Jerusalem Kedusha*, i.e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity sake, was omitted, and only *Kedusha* reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Kedusha, by a change in that dialect of *sh* into *th*, was made Kedutha; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ Κάδυτις, or Cadytis. PRIDEAUX's *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, Vol. I. Part 1. p. 80, 81. 8vo. Edit.

† This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which running through the desart that lay betwixt those two nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

It

It was to this prince that the Eleans ſent a ſplendid embaſſy after having inſtituted the Olympic games. They had eſtabliſhed the whole with ſuch care, and made ſuch excellent regulations, that, in their opinion, nothing ſeemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itſelf could not find any fault with them. [d] However, they did not deſire ſo much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt judicious people in the world. Accordingly the king aſſembled the ſages of his nation. After all things had been heard, which could be ſaid in favour of this inſtitution, the Eleans were aſked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to theſe games; to which anſwer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptian replied, that the rules of juſtice would have been more ſtrictly obſerved, had foreigners only been admitted to theſe combats; becauſe it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES. [e] In ſcripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, ſucceeding his father Pſammis, reigned twenty-five years.

During the firſt years of his reign, he was as happy as any of his predeceſſors. He carried his arms into Cyprus; beſieged the city of Sidon by ſea and land; took it, and made himſelf maſter of all Phœnicia and Paleſtine.

So rapid a ſucceſs elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, ſwelled him with ſo much pride and infatuation, that he boaſted, it was not in the power of the gods themſelves to dethrone him; ſo great was the idea he had formed to himſelf of the firm eſtabliſhment of his own power. It was with a view to theſe arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: "[f] My river is mine own, and I have made it for myſelf." But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a maſter,

[d] Herod. l. i. c. 160. [e] A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594. Jer. xliv. 30. Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Diod. l. ii. p. 72. [f] xxix. 3.

and

and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

A little after Orpha had ascended the throne, Zedekiah[s], king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbid his people to have recourse to Egypt, or put any confidence in the people of it, notwithstanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved, for their having relied on the Egyptians, they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger; and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; and which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah[h]. "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses flesh, not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together." But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch, who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himself into his place, expressed his mind to another prophet, as follows,

[s] Ezek. xvii. 15. [h] xxxi. 1, 3.

"Son

"[i] Son of man, ſet thy face againſt Pharaoh king of Egypt, and propheſy againſt him, and againſt all Egypt. Speak and ſay, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I am againſt thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, which hath ſaid, My river is my own, and I have made it for myſelf. But I will put hooks in thy jaws," &c. God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hands, adds, "[k] Behold, I will bring a ſword upon thee, and cut off man and beaſt out of thee; the land of Egypt ſhall be deſolate, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord, becauſe he hath ſaid, The river is mine, and I have made it." The ſame [l] prophet, in ſeveral ſucceeding chapters, continues to foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to theſe predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and ſaw Nabuchodonoſor raiſe the ſiege of Jeruſalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of ſhort duration; for the Egyptians ſeeing the Chaldeans advancing forward again, did not dare to encounter ſo numerous and well-diſciplined an army. [m] They therefore marched back into their own country, and left the unfortunate Zedekiah expoſed to all the dangers of a war in which they themſelves had involved him. Nebuchodonoſor again ſat down before Jeruſalem, took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had propheſied.

[n] Many years after, the chaſtiſements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) began to fall upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek colony, which had ſettled in Africa, between Lybia and Egypt, having ſeized upon, and divided among themſelves a great part of the country belonging to the Lybians; forced theſe nations, who were thus diſpoſſeſſed by vio-

[i] Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4. [k] Chap. xxix. 8, 9. [l] Chap. xxix. xxx. xxxi, xxxii. [m] A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588. Jer. xxxvii. [n] A. M. 3430. Ant. J. C. 574. Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

lence,

lence, to throw themſelves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries ſent a mighty army into Lybia, to oppoſe the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being entirely defeated and almoſt cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had ſent it into Lybia, only to get it deſtroyed; and by that means, to attain the power of governing his ſubjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to ſhake off the yoke which had been laid on them by their prince, whom they now conſidered as their enemy. But Apries hearing of the rebellion, diſpatched Amaſis, one of his officers, to ſuppreſs it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amaſis began to make his ſpeech, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raiſe him, and proclaimed him king. Amaſis having accepted the crown, ſtaid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exaſperated than ever at this news, ſent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amaſis under an arreſt, and bring him before him; but Paterbemis not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was ſurrounded with the inſtruments of his treachery, was treated by Apries at his return in the moſt ignominious and inhuman manner; for, his noſe and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never conſidered, that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commiſſion. So bloody an outrage, done to a perſon of ſuch high diſtinction, exaſperated the Egyptians ſo much, that the greateſt part of them joined the rebels, and the inſurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he ſupported himſelf ſome years, during which Amaſis enjoyed the reſt of his dominions.

The troubles which thus diſtracted Egypt, afforded Nabuchodonoſor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himſelf inſpired him with the reſolution. This prince, who was the inſtrument of

God's wrath (though he did not know himſelf to be ſo) againſt a people whom he was reſolved to chaſtiſe, had juſt before taken Tyre, where himſelf and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompenſe their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himſelf delivering his thoughts on this ſubject. There are few paſſages in ſcripture more remarkable than this, or which give a ſtronger idea of the ſupreme authority which God exerciſes over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth. "° Son of man," ſays the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel, "Nebuchadnezzar kind of Babylon, cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled*: yet had he no wages, nor his army, † for the ſervice he had ſerved againſt it. Therefore thus ſaid the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he ſhall take her multitude, and take her ſpoil, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he ſerved againſt it, becauſe they wrought for me, ſaith the Lord God." Says another prophet, "P He ſhall array himſelf with the land of Egypt, as a ſhepherd putteth on his garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in peace." Thus ſhall he load himſelf with booty, and thus cover his own ſhoulders, and thoſe of his fold, with all the ſpoils of Egypt. Noble expreſſions! which ſhow the

° Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20. P Jerem. xliii. 12.

* The baldneſs of the heads of the Babylonians, was owing to the preſſure of their helmets; and their *peeled ſhoulders* to their carrying baſkets of earth, and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the continent. Baldneſs was itſelf a badge of ſlavery; and joined to the *peeled ſhoulders*, ſhows that the conqueror's army ſuſtained even the moſt ſervile labours in this memorable ſiege.

† For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, we are to know, that Nabuchodonoſor ſuſtained incredible hardſhips at the ſiege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians ſaw themſelves cloſely attacked, the nobles conveyed themſelves, and their richeſt effects, on ſhip-board, and retired into other iſlands. So that when Nabuchodonoſor took the city, he found nothing to recompenſe his loſſes, and the troubles he had undergone in this ſiege. S. HIERON.

prodigious

prodigious eaſe with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and ſhift like a garment to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himſelf with it.

The king of Babylon taking advantage therefore of the inteſtine diviſions, which the rebellion of Amaſis had occaſioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He ſubdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of it, as far as Syene, in the oppoſite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devaſtation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made ſuch dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonoſor, having loaded his army with ſpoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amaſis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

[q] APRIES (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himſelf, advanced towards the ſea-coaſt (probably towards Lybia;) and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched againſt Amaſis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken priſoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there ſtrangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an aſtoniſhing relation of the ſeveral circumſtances of this mighty event. It was he who had broken the power of Apries, which was once ſo formidable; and put the ſword into the hand of Nabuchodonoſor, in order that he might chaſtiſe and humble that haughty prince. "[r] I am," ſaid he, "againſt Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms which were ſtrong, but now are broken; and I will cauſe the ſword to fall out of his hand.—[s] But I will ſtrengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my ſword into his hand.—[t] And they ſhall know that I am the Lord."

[q] Herod. l. ii. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. i. p. 72. [r] Ezek. xxx. 22. [s] 24. [t] Ezek. xxx. 25.

He

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors; [u] Pathros, Zoan, No, (called in the vulgate Alexandria) Sin, Aven, Phibeſeth, &c.*

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end, to which the captive king ſhould come. "[x] Thus ſaith the Lord, behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life."

Laſtly he declares, that during forty years, the Egyptians ſhall be oppreſſed with every ſpecies of calamity, and be reduced to ſo deplorable a ſtate, "[y] That there ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." The event verified this prophecy. Soon after the expiration of theſe forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Perſian empire, and has been governed ever ſince by foreigners. For ſince the ruin of the Perſian monarchy, it has been ſubject ſucceſſively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamalukes, and laſtly to the Turks, who poſſeſs it at this day.

[z] God was not leſs punctual in the accompliſhment of his prophecies, with regard to ſuch of his own people, as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jeruſalem; and forced Jeremiah along with them. The inſtant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis (or Tanis) the prophet, after having hid in their preſence (by God's command) ſtones in a grotto, which was near the king's palace; he declared to them, that Nabuchodonoſor ſhould ſoon arrive in Egypt, and that God would eſtabliſh his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waſte the whole kingdom, and carry fire and ſword into all places; that themſelves ſhould fall into the hand of theſe cruel enemies, when one part of them would be maſſacred, and the reſt led captive to Babylon; that only a very ſmall

[u] Ezek. ver. 14, 17. [x] Jerem. xliv. 30. [y] Ezek. xxx. 15.
[z] Jerem. chap. xliii, xliv.

* I have given the names of theſe towns as they ſtand in our Engliſh verſion. In the margin are printed againſt Zoan, Tanis; againſt Sion, Peluſium; againſt Aven, Heliopoli; againſt Phibeſeth, Pubaſtum (Bubaſte); and by theſe laſt names they are mentioned in the original.

number ſhould eſcape the common deſolation, and be at laſt reſtored to their country. All theſe prophecies had their accompliſhment in the appointed time.

AMASIS. After the death of Apries, Amaſis became peaceable poſſeſſor of Egypt, and reigned forty years over it. He was, according to [a] Plato, a native of the city of Sais.

[b] As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no reſpect, but was only contemned by his ſubjects, in the beginning of his reign: he was not inſenſible of this; but nevertheleſs thought it his intereſt to ſubdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and win their affection by gentleneſs and reaſon. He had a golden ciſtern, in which himſelf, and thoſe perſons who were admitted to his table, uſed to waſh their feet; he melted it down, and had it caſt into a ſtatue, and then expoſed the new god to public worſhip. The people haſtened in crowds to pay their adoration to the ſtatue. The king, having aſſembled the people, informed them of the vile uſes to which this ſtatue had once been put, which nevertheleſs had now their religious proſtrations! the application was eaſy, and had the deſired ſucceſs; the people thenceforward paid the king all the reſpect that is due to majeſty.

[c] He always uſed to devote the whole morning to public affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce ſentence, and hold his councils; the reſt of the day was given to pleaſure; and as Amaſis, in hours of diverſion, was extremely gay, and ſeemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds; his courtiers took the liberty to repreſent to him the unſuitableneſs of ſuch a behaviour; when he anſwered, that it was as impoſſible for the mind to be always ſerious and intent upon buſineſs, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book kept by the magiſtrate for that purpoſe, with their profeſſion, and manner of living. Solon inſerted this cuſtom among his laws.

[a] A. M 3435. Ant. J. C. 569. In Tim. [b] Herod. l. ii. c. 172.
[c] Ibid. cap. 73.

He

He built many magnificent temples, eſpecially at Sais the place of his birth. Herodotus admired eſpecially a chapel there, formed of one ſingle ſtone, and which was twenty-one cubits* in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimenſions within were not quite ſo large: it had been brought from Elephantina, and two thouſand men had employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amaſis had a great eſteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted ſuch of them as were deſirous of ſettling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, ſo famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expence was computed at three hundred talents†, Amaſis furniſhed the Delphians with a very conſiderable ſum towards diſcharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the iſland of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendſhip with Amaſis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his ſtay in Egypt, was initiated in all the myſteries of the country; and inſtructed by the prieſts in whatever was moſt abſtruſe and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered ſo great a part of the world, Egypt doubtleſs was ſubdued, like the reſt of the provinces; and Xenophon declares this in the beginning of his Cyropedia or Inſtitution of that Prince. Probably, after that the forty years of deſolation, which had been propheſied by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itſelf, Amaſis ſhook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

* The cubit is one foot and almoſt ten inches. *Vide ſupra.*

† Or, 58,125l. ſterling.

Accordingly we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

[d] PSAMMENITUS. Cambyses, after having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon took it: however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to reascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months; all Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this history will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyses.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this æra the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects in the several periods to which they belong.

[d] A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.

* Ερτηρξε δε ϗ Ελληνων των εν τε Ασις, καταβας δε επι θαλατταν, ϗ Κυπριων ϗ Αιγυπτιων, p. 5, Edit. Hutchinsoni.

BOOK

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS.

I SHALL divide the following hiſtory of the Carthaginians into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall give a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power and riches. In the ſecond, after relating in few words, by what ſteps Carthage eſtabliſhed and enlarged its power, I ſhall give an account of the wars by which it became ſo famous.

PART THE FIRST.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

SECT. I.

Carthage formed after the Model of Tyre, of which that City was a Colony.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but their manners, language, cuſtoms, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the ſequel. They ſpoke the ſame language with the Tyrians, and theſe the ſame with the Canaanites and Iſraelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at leaſt a language which was entirely derived from it. Their names had

had commonly ſome particular meaning: [a] thus Hanno ſignified *gracious*, *bountiful*; Dido, *amiable*, or *well beloved*; Sophoniſba, *one who keeps faithfully her huſband's ſecrets*. From a ſpirit of religion, they likewiſe joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which anſwers to Ananias, ſignifies *Baal* [or *the Lord*] *has been gracious to me*. Aſdrubal, anſwering to Azarias, implies *the Lord will be our ſuccour*. It is the ſame with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Maſtanabal, &c. The word Phœni, from which Punic is derived, is the ſame with Phœni or Phœnicians, becauſe they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus of Plautus is a ſcene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exerciſed the learned*.

But the ſtrict union which always ſubſiſted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians is ſtill more remarkable. [b] When Cambyſes had reſolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief ſtrength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not ſerve him againſt their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aſide his deſign. The Carthaginians, on their ſide, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. [c] They ſent regularly every year to Tyre, a ſhip freighted with preſents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their ancient country; and its tutelar gods had an annual ſacrifice offered to them by the Carthaginians, who conſidered them as their protectors. They never failed to ſend thither the firſt fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to ſecure from Alexander (who was then beſieging their city) what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, ſent them to Carthage, where, at a time that the inhabitants of the latter were

[a] Bochart. Part II. l ii c. 16. [b] Herod. l. iii. c. 17.—19.
[c] Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv c. 2, 3.

* The firſt ſcene of the fifth act, tranſlated into Latin by Petit, in the ſecond book of his Miſcellanies.

involved

involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour, than the greatest conquests, and the most glorious victories.

SECT. II. *The Religion of the Carthaginians.*

IT appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty to begin and end all the enterprises with the worship of the gods. [d] Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son treading in his steps, before he left Spain, and marched against Rome, went to Cadiz in order to pay the vows he made to Hercules; and to offer up new ones, in case that god should be propitious to him. [e] After the battle of Cannæ, when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them above all things, the offering up a thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates diis immortalibus agi haberique.*

Nor was this religious honouring of the deity on all occasions the ambition of particular persons only; but was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

[f] Polybius has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, their inherent persuasion that the gods assist and preside over human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public instrument, such as a treaty of peace con-

[d] Liv. l. xxi n. 1. Ibid. n. 21. [e] Liv. l. xxiii. n. 12.
[f] L. vii. p. 699. Edit. Gronov.

cluded

cluded between two nations. I will here present my reader with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. "This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the dæmon or genius (δαίμονες) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians; and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the presence of all those gods who possess Carthage;" what would we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced?

The Carthaginians had two deities, to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cœlestis, called likewise Urania or the Moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: [g]that very virgin Cœlestis, says Tertullian, the promiser of rain, *Ista ipsa virgo Cœlestis pluviarum polliciatrix.* Tertullian, speaking of this goddess and of Æsculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity; and declares, that any Christian, who first comes, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly that they are but devils; and consents that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.* St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. "[h]What is now," said he, "become of Cœlestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage?" This was doubtless the same deity, whom [i]Jeremiah calls *the queen of heaven*; and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women,

[g] Apolog. c. xxiii. [h] In Psalm xcviii.
[i] Jer. vii. 18, and xliv. 17—25.

that

that they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, *ut facient placentes reginæ cœli*; and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, whilst they paid her a regular worship; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in scripture by the name of Moloch: and this worship passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows, that the kings of Tyre in great dangers used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn: to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn's devouring his own children. Particular persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamity, took the same method; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children, purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbid expressly by heaven. At first, children were inhumanly burnt, either in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnon, so often mentioned in scripture; or in a flaming statue of Saturn. [k] The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets. Mothers* made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a groan; and if a tear or a sigh stole from them, the sacrifice was less acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely lost.

[k] Plut. de superstit. p. 171.

* Παρειστηκει δε η μητηρ ατεγητος ϗ αστεναχτος. &c. The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator; a groan or a tear falling from her, *would have been punished with a fine*; and still the child must have been sacrificed. PLUT. *de superstitione*.

[l] This ſtrength of mind, or rather ſavage barbarity, was carried to ſuch exceſs, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kiſſes, to huſh the cries of their children; leſt, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midſt of tears, it ſhould anger the god: *blanditiis et oſculis comprimebant vanitum, ne flebilis hoſtia immolaretur*[m]. They afterwards contented themſelves with making their children paſs through the fire; in which they frequently periſhed, as appears from ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture.

[n] The Carthaginians retained the barbarous cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city*: an action which ought to have been called a ſacrilege rather than a ſacrifice. *Sacrilegium verius quàm ſacrum.* It was only ſuſpended for ſome years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themſelves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Perſia, who forbad them the offering up of human ſacrifices, and the eating the fleſh of dogs: [o] but they ſoon reſumed this horrid practice, ſince, in the reign of Xerxes, the ſucceſſor to Darius, Gelon the tyrant of Syracuſe, having gained a conſiderable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, made the following condition among other articles of peace he granted them,

[l] Tertul. in Apolog. [m] Minut. Felix. [n] Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.
[o] Plut. de ſera vindic. deorum. p. 552.

* It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous cuſtom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage. *Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam uſque ad proconſulatum Tiberii, qui eoſdem ſacerdotes in eiſdem arboribus templi ſui opumbraticibus ſcelerum votivis crucibus expoſuit, teſte militia patriæ noſtræ, quæ id ipſum munus illi proconſuli functa eſt*, i. e. Children were publicly ſacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconſulſhip of Tiberius, who hanged the ſacrificing prieſts themſelves on the trees which ſhaded their temples, as on ſo many croſſes, raiſed to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witneſſes, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this proconſul. *Tertull. Apolog. c. 9.* Two learned men are at variance about the proconſul, and the time of his government. Salmaſius confeſſes his ignorance of both; but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for *proconſulatum*, reads *proconſulem Tiberii*, and thinks Tertullian, when he writ his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian, was then recent, and probably the witneſſes of it had not been long dead.

viz.

viz. "That no more human ſacrifices ſhould be offered to Saturn." And doubtleſs, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occaſion, made Gelon uſe this precaution. [p] For during the whole engagement, which laſted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the ſon of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods, ſacrifices of living men, who were thrown on a flaming pile; and ſeeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himſelf ruſhed into the pile, in order that he might not ſurvive his own diſgrace; and to extinguiſh, ſays Ambroſe, ſpeaking of this action, with his own blood this ſacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of ſervice to him*.

In times of peſtilence † they uſed to ſacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compaſſion in the moſt cruel enemies; thus ſeeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itſelf; and endeavouring to appeaſe the gods by the moſt ſhocking kind of barbarity.

[q] Diodorous relates an inſtance of this cruelty which ſtrikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was juſt going to beſiege Carthage, its inhabitants, ſeeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the juſt anger of Saturn, becauſe that, inſtead of offering up children nobly born, who were uſually ſacrificed to him, he had been fraudulently put off with the children of ſlaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the beſt families in Carthage were ſacrificed to Saturn: beſides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a ſenſe of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves.

[p] Herod. l. vii. c 167. [q] L. ii. p. 756.

* *In ipſos quos adolebat ſeſe præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore ſuo extingueret, quos ſibi nihil profuiſſe cognoverat.* S AMB.

† *Cum peſte laborarent cruenta ſacrorum religione et ſcelere prò remedio uſi ſunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant et impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hoſtium miſericordium prævocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum ſanguine eorum expoſcentes, pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari ſolent.* JUSTIN. l. XVIII. c 6. The Gauls as well as Germans uſed to ſacrifice men, if Dionyſius and Tacitus may be credited.

Diodorus

Diodorus adds, that Saturn had a brazen ſtatue, the hands of which were turnd downward; ſo that when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, ſays [r] Plutarch, be called worſhipping the gods? Can we be ſaid to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we ſuppoſe that they are pleaſed with ſlaughter, thirſty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting ſuch offerings? [s] Religion, ſays the judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the deity, I mean impiety and ſuperſtition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakneſs, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itſelf of a terror which galls it, denies the very exiſtence of the gods: while ſuperſtition, to calm its fears, capriciouſly forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes. [t] Had it not been better, ſays he further, for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and ſuch like open and undiſguiſed atheiſts for their lawgivers, than to have eſtabliſhed ſo frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants (the open enemies to the gods) had they gained a victory over them, have eſtabliſhed more abominable ſacrifices?

Such were the ſentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worſhip. But one would ſcarce believe that mankind were capable of ſuch madneſs and frenzy. Men do not generally entertain ideas ſo deſtructive of all thoſe things which nature conſiders as moſt ſacred; as to ſacrifice, to murder their children with their own hands; and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Such ſentiments of ſo unnatural and barbarous a kind, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by thoſe that paſſed for civilized, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans; and conſecrated by

[r] De ſuperſtitione, 169—171. [s] Idem. in Camill. p. 132.
[t] De ſuperſtitione.

cuſtom

cuſtom, during a long ſeries of ages, can have been inſpired by him only, who was a murderer from the beginning; and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, miſery, and perdition of man.

SECT. III. *Form of the Government of Carthage.*

THE government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and it is with reaſon that [u] Ariſtotle ranks this republic in the number of thoſe who were had in the greateſt eſteem by the ancients, and which was fit to ſerve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection, which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to this time (that is upwards of five hundred years) no conſiderable ſedition had diſturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppreſſed the liberty of Carthage. Indeed, mixed governments, ſuch as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are ſubject to two inconveniencies; either of degenerating into an abuſe of liberty by the ſeditions of the populace, as frequently happened at Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into the oppreſſion of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuſe, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itſelf under Sylla and Cæſar. It is therefore giving Carthage the higheſt praiſe, to obſerve, that it had found out the art, by the wiſdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to ſhun, during ſo long a ſeries of years, two rocks that are ſo dangerous, and on which others are often ſplit.

It were to be wiſhed, that ſome ancient author had left us an accurate and regular deſcription of the cuſtoms and laws of this famous republic. For want of ſome ſuch aſſiſtance, we can only give our readers a confuſed and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the ſeveral paſſages which lie ſcattered up and down in authors. Chriſ-

[u] Derep. l. ii. c. 11.

topher

topher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and* his work has been of great service to me.

[x] The government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another. These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates called Suffetes†; that of the senate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of One Hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

The Suffetes.

The power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome‡. In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls, because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate§, in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and told the voices‖; and they likewise presided in all emergent and decisive debates. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find that, when their employment of Suffetes expired, they were made prætors, whose office was considerable, since it empowered them to preside in some causes; as also to propose and enact new laws, and to call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy[y] relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

[x] Polyb. l. vi. 493. [y] L. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

*It is entitled, *Carthago, sive Carthaginensium respublica, &c. Francofurti ad Oderam, ann.* 1664.

† This name is derived from a word, which, with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges. *Sophetim.*

‡ *Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.* Corn. Nep. in vita Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the Suffetes.

§ *Senatum itaque Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt.* Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

‖ *Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum concedissent.* Id. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

The

The Senate.

The Senate, compoſed of perſons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and eſpecially their merit, formed the council of ſtate; and were, if I may uſe that expreſſion, the ſoul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known: it muſt however have been very great, ſince a hundred were ſelected from it to form a ſeparate aſſembly, of which I ſhall immediately have occaſion to ſpeak. In the ſenate all affairs of conſequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambaſſadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is ſeen on many occaſions.

[z] When the ſentiments and votes were unanimous, the ſenate decided ſupremely, and there lay no appeal from it. When there was a diviſion, and the ſenate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then brought before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will eaſily perceive the great wiſdom of this regulation; and how happily it was adapted to cruſh factions, to produce harmony, and to inforce and corroborate good counſels; ſuch an aſſembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not eaſily prevailed upon to let it paſs into other hands. Of this we have a memorable inſtance in [a] Polybius. When after the loſs of the battle, fought in Africa, at the end of the ſecond Punic war, the conditions of peace, offered by the victor, were read in the ſenate; Hannibal, obſerving that one of the ſenators oppoſed them, repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as the ſafety of the republic lay at ſtake, it was of the utmoſt importance for the ſenators to be unanimous in their reſolutions, to prevent ſuch a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This doubtleſs laid the foundation in the infancy of the republic of the ſenate's power, and raiſed its authority to ſo great a height. [b] And the ſame author

[z] Ariſt. loc. cit. [a] L. xv. p. 776, 777. [b] A. Carth. 487. Polyb. l. vi. p. 49.

obſerves

obſerves in another place; that whilſt the ſenate had the adminiſtration of affairs, the ſtate was governed with great wiſdom, and ſucceſsful in all its enterpriſes.

The People.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that ſo low as Ariſtotle's time, who gives ſo beautiful a draught and beſtows ſo noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people ſpontaneouſly left the care of public affairs, and the chief adminiſtration of them to the ſenate: and this it was which made the republic ſo powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people, grown inſolent by their wealth and conqueſts, and forgetting that they owed theſe bleſſings to the prudent conduct of the ſenate, were deſirous of having a ſhare in the government, and arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were wholly tranſacted by cabals and factions; which Polybius aſſigns as one of the chief cauſes of the ruin of Carthage.

The Tribunal of the Hundred.

This was a body compoſed of a hundred and four perſons; though often, for brevity ſake, they are called the Hundred. Theſe, according to Ariſtotle, were the ſame in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were inſtituted to balance the power of the nobles and ſenate. But with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and elected annually; whereas theſe were perpetual, and were upwards of a hundred. It is believed that theſe centumvirs are the ſame with the hundred judges mentioned by [c] Juſtin, who were taken out of the ſenate, and appointed to enquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engroſſing the chief employments both of the ſtate and the army, had thereby the ſole direction and management of all affairs,

[c] A. M. 3069. A Carth. 487. Lib. xix. c. 2.

gave

gave occaſion to this eſtabliſhment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilſt the armies were in the field, was almoſt boundleſs and abſolute; but, by this inſtitution, it became ſubject to the laws; by the obligation their generals were under of giving an account of their actions before theſe judges, on their return from the campaign. [d] *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legeſque reſpicerent.* Of theſe hundred and four judges, five had a particular juriſdiction ſuperior to that of the reſt, but it is not known how long their authority laſted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian ſenate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themſelves, they alſo had the power of chooſing thoſe who compoſed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reaſon none were elected into this office but perſons of uncommon merit; and it was not judged proper to annex any ſalary or reward to it; the ſingle motive of the public good being thought a tie ſufficient to engage honeſt men to a conſcientious and faithful diſcharge of their duty. [e] Polybius, in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, diſtinguiſhes clearly two orders of magiſtrates eſtabliſhed in Old Carthage; for he ſays, that among the priſoners, taken at New Carthage, were two magiſtrates belonging to the body or aſſembly of old men [εκ της γερουσιας] ſo he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the ſenate [εκ της συγκλητου.] [f] Livy mentions only the fifteen of the ſenators; but, in another place, he names the old men, and tells us, that they formed the moſt venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the ſenate. **Carthaginienſes—Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta ſeniorum principes. Id erat*

[d] Juſtin. xix. [e] L. x. p. 824. Edit. Gronov.
[f] L. xxvi. n. 51. l. xxx. n. 16.

* Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of ſome civil officers who were eſtabliſhed at Carthage with a power, like that of the cenſors of Rome, to inſpect the manners of the citizens. The chief of theſe officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Aſdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than

erat ſanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipſum ſenatum regendum vis.

Eſtabliſhments, though conſtituted with the greateſt wiſdom, and the juſteſt harmony of parts, degenerate, however inſenſibly, into diſorder and the moſt deſtructive licentiouſneſs. Theſe judges, who by the lawful execution of their power were a terror to tranſgreſſors, and the great pillars of juſtice; abuſing their almoſt unlimited authority, became ſo many petty tyrants. We ſhall ſee this verified in the hiſtory of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorſhip, after his return to Africa, employed all his credit to reform ſo horrid an abuſe, and made an authority, which before was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the firſt founding the tribunal of the one hundred[s].

Defects in the Government of Carthage.

Ariſtotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wiſe lawgiver, and the maxims of good policy.

The firſt of theſe defects was, the inveſting the ſame perſon with different employments, which was conſidered at Carthage, as a proof of uncommon merit. But Ariſtotle thinks this practice vaſtly prejudicial to a community. For, ſays this author, a man poſſeſſed of but one employment, is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; becauſe affairs are then examined with greater care, and ſooner diſpatched. We never ſee, continues our author, either by ſea or land, the ſame officer commanding two different bodies, or the ſame pilot ſteering two ſhips. Beſides, the welfare of the ſtate requires that places and preferments ſhould be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit; where-

[s] A. M. 3082. Ant. J. C. 682.

than was conſiſtent with modeſty. *Erat præterea cum eo [Amilcare] adoleſcens illuſtris et formoſus Haſdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat ab Amilcare, loquebantur—Quo factum eſt ut a præfecto morum Haſdrubal cum eo vetaretur eſſe.* Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

as

as the beſtowing of them on one man, too often dazzles him by ſo diſtinguiſhing a preference, and always fills others with jealouſy, diſcontent, and murmurs.

The ſecond defect taken notice of by Ariſtotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the firſt poſts, a certain eſtate was required (beſides merit and a conſpicuous birth). By which means poverty might exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit, which he conſiders as a great evil in a government. For then, ſays he, as virtue is wholly diſregarded, and money is all powerful becauſe all things are attained by it, the admiration and deſire of riches ſeize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magiſtrates and judges are obliged to pay large ſums for their employments, they ſeem to have a right to reimburſe themſelves.

There is not, I believe, one inſtance in all antiquity to ſhow that employments, either in the ſtate or the courts of juſtice, were ſold. The expence, therefore, which Ariſtotle talks of here, to raiſe men to preferments in Carthage, muſt doubtleſs be underſtood of the preſents that were given, in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius obſerves, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a diſgrace*. It is therefore no wonder, that Ariſtotle ſhould condemn a practice whoſe conſequences, it is very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in caſe he pretended, that the chief employments of a ſtate ought to be equally acceſſible to the rich and the poor, as he ſeems to inſinuate; his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wiſeſt republics; for theſe, without any way demeaning or aſperſing poverty, have thought that on this occaſion, the preference ought to be given to riches; becauſe it is to be preſumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler views, are more out of the reach of corruption, and leſs liable to commit baſe actions; and that even the ſtate of their affairs makes them more

* Βαρα Καρχηδονιοις ουδεν αισχρον των αιτουντων προς κερδος. POLYB. l. vi. p. 597.

affectionate

affectionate to the government, inclines them to maintain peace and order in it, and to ſuppreſs whatever may tend to ſedition and rebellion.

Ariſtotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleaſed with a cuſtom practiſed in it, *viz.* of ſending from time to time colonies into different countries; and in this manner, procuring its citizens commodious ſettlements. This provided for the neceſſities of the poor, who equally with the rich, are members of the ſtate; and it diſcharged Carthage of multitudes of lazy indolent people, who were its diſgrace, and often proved dangerous to it. It prevented commotions and inſurrections, by thus removing ſuch perſons as commonly occaſion them; and who being ever uneaſy under their preſent circumſtances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECT. IV. *Trade of Carthage, the firſt Source of its Wealth and Power.*

COMMERCE, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its induſtry, and its peculiar and predominant characteriſtic. It formed the greateſt ſtrength, and the chief ſupport of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conqueſts, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from trade. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and ſtretching out their arms eaſtward and weſtward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world; and wafted it to the coaſt of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the ſtraits and pillars of Hercules. They ſailed to all countries, in order to buy, at a cheap rate, the ſuperfluities of every nation; which, by the wants of others, became neceſſaries, and theſe they ſold to them at the deareſt rates. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, ſails, and cables for ſhips; from the coaſt of the Red Sea, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs; tapeſtry, coſtly

coſtly furniture, and divers very curious and artificial works; in fine, they fetched from various countries, all things that are abſolutely neceſſary, or capable of contributing to eaſe, luxury and the delights of life. They brought back from the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper; by the ſale of theſe various commodities, they enriched themſelves at the expence of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was ſo much the ſurer, as it was ſpontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themſelves lords of the ſea; the hand which held the eaſt, the weſt, and ſouth together; and the neceſſary canal of their communication; ſo that Carthage roſe to be the common city, and the centre of the trade of all thoſe nations which the ſea ſeparated from one another.

The moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to trade. They applied themſelves to it as induſtriouſly as the meaneſt citizens; and their great wealth did not make them leſs in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are neceſſary for the acquiring them. To this they owed their empire of the ſea; the ſplendor of their republic; their being able to diſpute for the ſuperiority with Rome itſelf; and their elevation of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and ſubdue this haughty rival. In fine, Rome, even in its triumphant ſtate, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way, than by depriving that city of the benefit of its commerce, by which it had ſo long been enabled to reſiſt the whole ſtrength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder that as Carthage came in a manner out of the greateſt ſchool of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, ſhe ſhould have been crowned with ſuch rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs. The very veſſels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade.

They

They began to make ſettlements upon the coaſt of Spain, in thoſe ports where they unloaded their goods. The eaſe with which they had founded theſe ſettlements, and the conveniences they met with, inſpired them with the deſign of conquering thoſe vaſt regions; and ſome time after, *Nova Carthago*, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almoſt equal to that they enjoyed in Africa.

SECT. V. *The Mines of Spain, ſecond Source of the Riches and Power of Carthage.*

[h] DIODORUS juſtly remarks, that the gold and ſilver mines, found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhauſtible fund of wealth, that enabled them to ſuſtain ſuch long wars againſt the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of theſe treaſures (at leaſt of their uſe and value) which lay concealed in the bowels of the earth. The Phœnicians firſt made the diſcovery; and, by bartering ſome wares of little value for this precious metal, which the natives ſuffered them to dig up, they amaſſed infinite wealth. The Carthaginians improved, from their example, when they conquered that country; as did the Romans afterwards, when they had diſpoſſeſſed the latter of it.

[i] The labour employed to come at theſe mines, and to dig the gold and ſilver out of them, was incredible, for the veins of theſe metals rarely appeared on the ſuperficies: they were to be ſought for, and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water ſtopped the miners, and ſeemed to defeat all future purſuits. But avarice is as patient in undergoing fatigues, as ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of theſe kind of pits, and quite drained them. Numberleſs multitudes of ſlaves periſhed in theſe mines, which were dug to enrich their maſters, who treated them with the utmoſt barba-

[h] Lib. iv. p. 312, &c. [i] Ibid.

rity,

rity, forced them by heavy ſtripes to labour, and gave them no reſpite either day or night. [k] Polybius, as quoted by Strabo, ſays, that in his time, upwards of forty thouſand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago*; and furniſhed the Romans every day with twenty-five thouſand drachmas, or eight hundred fifty-nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſixpence*.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed to ſee the Carthaginians, ſoon after the greateſt defeats, ſending freſh and numerous armies again into the field; fitting out mighty fleets, and ſupporting, at a great expence, for many years, wars carried on by them in far-diſtant countries. But it muſt ſurpriſe us, to hear of the Romans doing the ſame; they whoſe revenues were very inconſiderable before thoſe great conqueſts, which ſubjected to them the moſt powerful nations; and who had no reſources, either from trade, to which they were abſolute ſtrangers; or from gold or ſilver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in caſe there were any; and conſequently, the expences of which muſt have ſwallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and ſimple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare, and their love for their country, poſſeſſed funds which were not leſs ready or ſecure than thoſe of Carthage, but at the ſame time were far more honourable.

SECT. VI. *War.*

CARTHAGE muſt be conſidered as a trading, and at the ſame time a warlike republic. Its genius and the nature of its governments led it to traffic; and the neceſſity the Carthaginians were under, firſt of defending their ſubjects againſt the neighbouring nations, and afterwards a deſire of extending their commerce and empire, led them to war. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the

[k] Lib. iii. p. 147.

* 25,000 drachmas—An Attic drachma, according to Dr. Bernard —8½d. Engliſh money, conſequently 25,000—859l. 7s. 6d.

Carthaginian

Carthaginian republic. We have already ſpoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians conſiſted in their alliances with kings; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money; in ſome troops raiſed from among their own citizens; and in mercenary ſoldiers purchaſed of neighbouring ſtates, without their being obliged to levy or exerciſe them, becauſe they were already well diſciplined and inured to the fatigues of war; they making choice, in every country, of ſuch ſoldiers as had the greateſt merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia, a nimble, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal ſtrength of their armies; from the Balearian iſles, the moſt expert ſlingers in the world; from Spain, a ſtout and invincible infantry; from the coaſt of Genoa and Gaul, troops of known valour; and from Greece itſelf, ſoldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garriſon, for beſieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians ſent out at once powerful armies, compoſed of ſoldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the univerſe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies; without ſuſpending their manufactures, or diſturbing the peaceable artificer, without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they poſſeſſed themſelves of provinces and kingdoms! and made other nations the inſtruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expence of their own, but their money; and even this furniſhed from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the courſe of a war, ſuſtained ſome loſſes, theſe were but as ſo many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the ſtate, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. Theſe loſſes were ſpeedily repaired, by ſums ariſing out of a flouriſhing commerce, as from a perpetual ſpring of war, by which the government was furniſhed with new ſupplies for the pur-

chaſe of mercenary forces, who were ready at the firſt ſummons. And, from the vaſt extent of the coaſts which the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, it was eaſy for them to levy, in a very little time, a ſufficient number of ſailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as theſe parts were fortuitouſly brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or neceſſary tie. No common and reciprocal intereſt united them in ſuch a manner, ſo as to form a ſolid and unalterable body. Not one individual in theſe mercenary armies wiſhed ſincerely the proſperity of the ſtate. They did not act with the ſame zeal, nor expoſe themſelves to dangers with equal reſolution, for a republic which they conſidered as foreign, and which conſequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whoſe happineſs conſtitutes that of the ſeveral members who compoſe it.

In great reverſes of fortune, the kings [1] in alliance with the Carthaginians might eaſily be detached from their intereſt, either by a jealouſy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally gives; or from the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or from the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, being impatient under the weight and diſgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, greatly flattered themſelves with the hopes of finding one leſs galling in changing their maſters; or, in caſe ſervitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many inſtances in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The mercenary forces, accuſtomed to meaſure their fidelity by the largeneſs or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the leaſt diſcontent, or the ſlighteſt expectation of a more conſiderable ſtipend, to deſert to the enemy with whom they had juſt before fought,

[1] As Syphax and Maſſiniſſa

and to turn their arms againſt thoſe who had invited them to their aſſiſtance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians, being ſuſtained only by theſe foreign ſupports, was ſhaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if to this there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (by which only they ſubſiſted) ariſing from the loſs of a naval engagement, they imagined themſelves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themſelves to deſpondency and deſpair, as was evidently ſeen at the end of the firſt Punic war.

Ariſtotle, in the treatiſe where he ſhows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which haraſſed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miſeries are comparable to thoſe of a government which is ſupported only by foreigners; ſince neither zeal, ſecurity, nor obedience can be expected from them.

But this was not the caſe with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to puſh on their conqueſts with the ſame rapidity as the Carthaginians; but then, as they procured every thing from within themſelves; and all the parts of the ſtate were intimately united; they had ſurer reſources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reaſon they never once thought of ſuing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a leſs imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had beſides a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of ſchool, in which the flower of their nobility, and thoſe whoſe talents and ambition prompted them to aſpire to the firſt dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among theſe were ſelected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation

was too jealous and ſuſpicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not ſo diſtruſtful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the ſame time that they inveſted them with great power, did not guard againſt the abuſe they might make of it, in order to oppreſs their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above mentioned. Many generals held their commiſſions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were ſtill accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real overſight, a misfortune, or the ſuperior intereſt of a cabal, furniſhed an opportunity for it.

SECT. VII. *Arts and Sciences.*

IT cannot be ſaid that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which reſults from ſtudy and knowledge. The ſending of Maſiniſſa, ſon of a powerful king *, thither for education, gives us room to believe, that Carthage was provided with an excellent ſchool. [m] The great Hannibal, who in all reſpects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be ſeen hereafter. [n] Mago, another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen, as by his victories. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon huſbandry, which the Roman ſenate had in ſuch eſteem that, after the taking of Carthage, when they preſented the African princes with the librararies founded there (another proof that learning was not entirely baniſhed from Carthage) they gave orders to have theſe books tranſlated into Latin †, though Cato had before written books on that ſubject. [o] There is ſtill extant a Greek verſion of a treatiſe, drawn up by Hanno

[m] Nepos in vita Annibalis. [n] Dic. l. i. De orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3. [o] Voſſ. De hiſt. Gr. l. iv.

*King of the Maſſylians in Afric.

† Theſe books were written by Mago in the Punic language, and tranſlated into Greek by Caſſius Dionyſius of Utica, from whoſe verſion we may probably ſuppoſe the Latin was made.

in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made (by order of the senate) with a considerable fleet round Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more ancient, than that person of the same name, who lived in the time of Agathocles.

[p]Clitomachus, called, in the Punic language, Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic sect. [q]Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study than the Carthaginians generally are. [r]He composed several books, in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa with their compositions, the celebrated Terence; himself being singly capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if on this account Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of style, that delicacy and elegancy, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding ages. [s]It is supposed, that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second to the beginning of the third Punic war. He was sold a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty, and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus and Lælius; and it was a com-

[p] Plut. De fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom.

[q] Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 54. [r] Sust. in vit. Terent.

* *Clitomachus, homo et acutus ut Panus et valde studiosus ac diligens.* Academ. Quæst. l. v. n. 98.

mon

mon report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces. The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, according to Suetonius (the writer of his life) say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eighty comedies translated from Menander, and could not survive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. However this be, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years, and consequently was born anno 560.

It must yet be confessed, notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it scarce furnished three or four writers of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what reputation physic, which is so advantageous to life, was at Carthage; or the civil law, so necessary to society.

As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic. But polite learning, history, and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbid any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous

dangerous correſpondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth*.

Now what could be expected from ſuch a caſt of mind? Accordingly, there was never ſeen among them that elegance of behaviour, that eaſe and complacency of manners, and thoſe ſentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The ſmall number of great men, which this nation has produced, muſt therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the ſingularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great aſſiſtance from inſtruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greateſt men of Carthage was ſullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel paſſions; and it is rare to meet with any conſpicuous virtue among them, without ſome blemiſh; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and ſupported by clear and laſting principles, ſuch as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive, that I here ſpeak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeable to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their ſkill in arts of a leſs noble and neceſſary kind, as painting and ſculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both theſe kinds; but it does not appear that they themſelves had produced many.

From what has been ſaid, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteriſtic of the Carthaginians; that it formed, in a manner, the baſis of the ſtate, the ſoul of the commonwealth, and the grand ſpring which gave

* *Factum ſenatus conſultum ne quis poſtea Carthaginienſis aut literis Græcis aut ſermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet.* JUSTIN l. xx. c. 5. Juſtin aſcribes the reaſon of this law, to a treaſonable correſpondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians) having informed the tyrant of the war deſigned againſt him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.

motion

motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians, in general, were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory in amassing them, though at the same time they scarce knew the use for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECT. VIII. *The Character, Manners, and Qualities of the Carthiginians.*

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero* assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, *calliditas*; which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct; and this was joined to another quality that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians†; and it was so notorious, that to signify any *remarkable dishonesty*, it was usual to call it *Punic honour*, *fides Punica*; and to denote a *knavish, deceitful mind*, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a *Carthaginian mind*, *Punicum ingenium*.

An excessive thirst for, and an immoderate love of profit, generally gave occasion in Carthage to the com-

* *Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.* De Arusp Resp. n. 19.

† *Carthaginiensis fraudulenti et mendaces—multis et variis mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad studium fallendi quæstus cupiditate vocabantur.* Cic. Orat. ii. in Rull. n. 94.

mitting

mitting base and unjust actions. One single example will prove this. In the time of a truce, granted by Scipio, to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people*, who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it was ever so scandalous. † The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Austin's time, (as that father informs us) showed on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristic.

[a] But these were not the only blemishes and faults of the Carthaginians. They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which, in its first starts, was deaf to either reason or remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and groveling under apprehensions, were fiery and cruel in their transports; at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but still, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day desired the assembly, in which

[a] Plut. De ger. Rep. p. 799.

* *Magistratus senatum vocare, populus in curiæ vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c.* LIV. l. xxx. n. 24.

† A mountebank had promised the citizens of Carthage to discover to them their most secret thoughts, in case they would come, on a day appointed, to hear him. Being all met, he told them, they were desirous to buy cheap, and sell dear. Every man's conscience pleaded guilty to the charge; and the mountebank was dismissed with applause and laughter. *Vili vultis emere, et care vendere; in quo dicto levissimi scenici omnes tamen conscientias invenerunt suas, eique vera et tamen improvisa dicenti admirabili favore plauserunt.* S. AUGUST. l. xiii. de Trinit. c. 3.

he

he presided, to break up; because, as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Plutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

[1] Livy makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro. That general, being returned to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome; and thanked by them, for his not having despaired of the commonwealth; who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most severe punishment. *Cui si, Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.* Indeed a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made responsible for the events of war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to shed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

[1] Lib. xxii. n. 61.

PART THE SECOND.

The Hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included ſeven hundred years, and may be divided into two parts. The firſt, which is much the longeſt, and the leaſt known, (as is ordinary with the beginnings of all ſtates) extends to the firſt Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The ſecond, which ends at the deſtruction of Carthage, contains but a hundred and eighteen years.

CHAP. I.

The Foundation of Carthage, and its Progreſs till the Time of the firſt Punic War.

CARTHAGE in Africa was a colony from Tyre, the moſt renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before tranſplanted another colony into that country, which built Utica*, made famous by the death of the ſecond Cato, who for this reaſon is generally called Cato Uticenſis.

Authors diſagree very much with regard to the æra of the foundation of Carthage†. It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at leaſt, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is ſufficient to

* *Utica et Carthago ambæ inclytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fato Catonis inſignis, hæc ſuo.* Pompon. Mel. c. 67. Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the firſt renowned by Cato's fate, the laſt by its own.

† Our countryman, *Howel*, endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He ſays, that the town conſiſted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port

to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

"Carthage exiſted a little above ſeven hundred years. It was deſtroyed under the conſulate of Cn. Lentulus, and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Chriſt. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3158, when Joaſh was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

[x]The foundation of Carthage is aſcribed to Eliſa, a Tyrian princeſs, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in ſcripture Ethbaal, was her great grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwiſe Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion king of Tyre was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity to ſeize his immenſe treaſures; Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing ſecretly with all her dead huſband's poſſeſſions. After having long wandered, ſhe at laſt landed on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, in the gulph where Utica ſtood, and in the country of Africa, properly ſo called, diſtant almoſt fifteen * miles from Tunis, ſo famous, at this time, for its corſairs; and there ſettled with her few followers, after having purchaſed ſome lands from the inhabitants of the country†. Many

[u] Liv. Epit. l. li. [x] Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 832. Paterc. l. i. c. 6.

port and buildings adjoining to it, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt built; Megara, built next, and in reſpect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrſa, or the citadel, built laſt of all and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correſpond with Euſebius, was built a hundred ninety-four years later; Byrſa, to agree with Menander, (cited by Joſephus) was built a hundred ſixty-ſix years after Megara.

* 120 Stadia. *Strab.* l. xiv. p. 687.

† Some authors ſay, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by deſiring to purchaſe of them, for her intended ſettlement, only ſo much and as an ox's hide would encompaſs. The requeſt was thought too moderate

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these foreigners the necessaries of life; and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon; and called Carthada*, or Carthage, a name that, in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity) signifies the New City. It is said that when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people†.

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for delibe-

moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the smallest thongs; and, with them, encompassed a large tract of ground, on which she built a citadel called Byrsa, from the hide. But this tale of the thong is generally exploded by the learned; who observe, that the Hebrew word *Bosra*, which signifies a fortification, gave rise to the Greek word *Byrsa*, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

* Kartha Hadath or Haditha.

† *Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno*
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello
Egregiam, et facilem victu per secula gentem.
VIRG. Æn. l. i. ver. 442.

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,
And digging here, a prosp'rous omen found:
From under earth a courser's head they drew,
Their growth and future fortune to foreshew:
This fated sign their foundress Juno gave,
Of a soil fruitful and a people brave. DRYDEN.

ration, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having therefore ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it*.

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; the æra of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years lower than the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of an historian; we admire, with great reason, the judgment he has shown in his plan, when to affect the Romans the more, (for whom he wrote) with his subject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak, grew larger by insensible degrees, where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. The inhabitants of this ambitious city extended their conquests into Europe, by invading Sardinia, seizing a great part of Sicily, and reducing almost all Spain; and having sent powerful colonies every where,

* The story, as it is told more at large in Justin, (l. xviii. c. 6.) is this—Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal; the ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her, (with *Punic honesty*) "that he wanted to have some person sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of Barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts." Here the queen with indignation interrupting them, and asking, "if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives?" They then delivered the king's message; and bid her "set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare." Dido being thus ensnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and answered, "that she would go where the fate of her city called her." At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile; and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband as they had ordered her.

they

they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years; and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by their wealth, their commerce, their numerous armies, their formidable fleets, and above all, by the courage and ability of their captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known. I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Africa.

[y] The first wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the land these had permitted them to settle in. This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original, by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly, the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

[z] The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and won conquests from both. Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness *, and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.

[a] About this time there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on account of their respective limits. Cyrene was a very powerful city, situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus the Lacedæmonian.

[y] Justin. l. xix. c. 1. * Justin. xix. c. 2.

[z] Sallust. de bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.

* *Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginiensibus remittere.* JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2.

It

It was agreed on each ſide, that two young men ſhould ſet out at the ſame time, from either city; and that the place of their meeting ſhould be the common boundary of both ſtates. The Carthaginians (theſe were two brothers named Philæni) made the moſt haſte; and their antagoniſts pretended that foul play had been uſed, and that theſe two brothers above-mentioned, had ſet out before the time appointed, refuſed to ſtand to the agreement, unleſs the two brothers (to remove all ſuſpicion of their unfair dealing) would conſent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquieſced with the propoſal, and the Carthaginians erected, on that ſpot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time, the place was called the altars of the Philæni, Aræ Philænorum *, and ſerved as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

Conqueſts of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, &c.

Hiſtory does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner they got poſſeſſion of it. [b] This iſland was of great uſe to them; and, during all their wars, ſupplied them abundantly with proviſions. It is ſeparated from Corſica by a ſtrait of about three leagues over. The metropolis of the ſouthern and moſt fertile parts of it, was Caratis or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the iſland, which are almoſt inacceſſible, and whence the enemy could not diſlodge them.

The Carthaginians ſeized likewiſe on the Baleares, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Magon, in the latter iſland, was ſo called from Mago, a Carthaginian

[b] Strab. l. v. p. 224. Diod. l. v. p. 296.

* Theſe pillars were not ſtanding in Strabo's time. Some Geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was anciently called Philænorum Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, ſituated a little weſt of Arcadia, in the gulph of Sidra.

general,

general, who first made use of, and fortified it. [c] It is not known who this Mago was; but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

[d] These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges. They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets* with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the blow. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed, from their infancy, to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed, on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel, till they had brought it down with their slings. [e] From this practice these islands were called Baleares and Gymnasiæ by the Greeks; because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones †

[c] Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.
[d] Diod. l. v. n. 298 and l. xix. p. 742. Liv. loco citato.
[e] Strab. l. iii. p. 167.

* *Liquefit excussa glans fundâ, at attritu aeris, velut igne, dissiliat, i. e* The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire. Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* l. ii. c. 57.

† Bochart derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, Baal-jare, or master in the art of slinging. This strengthens the authority of Strabo, *viz.* that the inhabitants learn their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. Σφενδονητας αφ' ων λεγονται —ιξοντι φοινικες κατεσχον ταυτην. And this is still more probable when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian slings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a distance. Every slinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the wrist, and a third was carried in the hand. To this give me leave to add two more observations (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands) which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants of it applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, εκλειθησαν γαρ υπο των ζωων τουτων, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones. *Vide Strab. Plin.* l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman *Biddulph*, who, in his Travels, informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit to sell.

Conquests

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain.

Before I enter on the relation of these conquests, I believe it will be proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

[f] Spain is divided into three parts, Bœtica, Lusitania, Tarraconia.

Bœtica, so called from the river Bœtis[g], was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Gadiz, called by the ancients Gades and Gadira, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. [h] It is well known that Hercules extending his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where these pillars were erected. [i] Bœtica was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and most populous part of Spain. It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Bœtis stood three large cities, Castulo towards the source, Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Senecas; lastly Hispalis[k]. Lusitania is bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durius[l], and on the south by the river Anas[m]. Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconia comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco[n], a very considerable city, gave its

[f] Cluver. l. ii. c. 2. [g] Guadalquivir.
[h] Strabo, l. iii. p. 172. [i] Ibid. p. 139—142. [k] Seville.
[l] Duero. [m] Guadiana. [n] Tarragona.

name

name to that part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino[o]. Its name makes it conjectured, that it was built by Barcha, father of the great Hannibal. The moſt renowned nations of Tarraconia, were the Celtiberi, beyound the river Iberus[p]; the Cantabri, where Biſcay now lies; the Carpetani, whoſe capital was Toledo; the Ovitani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and ſilver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had ſufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike diſpoſition, even from the genius and conſtitution of their republic. They doubtleſs knew that their Phœnician anceſtors, (as [q] Diodorus relates) taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immenſe riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, firſt took from them theſe precious treaſures, in exchange for commodities of the loweſt value. They likewiſe foreſaw, that if they could once ſubdue this country, it would furniſh them abundantly with well-diſciplined troops for the conqueſt of other nations, as actually happened.

[r] The occaſion of the Carthaginians firſt landing in Spain, was to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards. That city, as well as Utica and Carthage, was a colony of Tyre, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, eſtabliſhed there the worſhip of Hercules; and erected in his honour a magnificent temple, which became famous in after ages. The ſucceſs of this firſt expedition of the Carthaginians, made them deſirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known, in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their firſt conqueſts. It is probable that theſe were ſlow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themſelves with great reſolution and cou-

[o] Barcelona. [p] Ebro. [q] L. v. p. 312.
[r] Juſtin. l. xliv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

rage.

rage. Nor could they ever have accompliſhed their deſign, as [s] Strabo obſerves, had the Spaniards, (united in a body) formed but one ſtate, and mutually aſſiſted one another. But as every canton, every people were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the leaſt correſpondence with them, the Carthaginians were forced to ſubdue them one after another. This circumſtance occaſioned, on one hand, their ruin; and on the other protracted the war, and made the conqueſts of the country much more difficult*; accordingly it has been obſerved, that though Spain was the firſt province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the laſt they ſubdued†; and was not entirely ſubjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous oppoſition for upwards of two hundred years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Aſdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will ſoon be mentioned; that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any conſiderable progreſs in that country, till this period, and that the greateſt part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conqueſt of almoſt the whole country.

[s] At the time that Hannibal ſet out for Italy, all the coaſt of Africa, from the Philænoram Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was ſubject to the Carthaginians. Paſſing through the ſtraits, they had conquered all the weſtern coaſt of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coaſt which lies on the Mediterranean had been almoſt wholly ſubdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthagena; and they were maſters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was, at that time, the extent of their empire. In the centre of

[s] L. iii. p. 158. [t] Polyb. l. iii. p. 192. l. i. p. 9.

* Such a diviſion of Britain retarded, and at the ſame time facilitated the conqueſt of it to the Romans. *Dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur.* TACIT.

† *Hiſpania prima Romanis imita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis ſint, poſtrema omnium perdomita eſt.* LIV. l. xxviii. n. 12.

the

the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This takes up near two hundred and twenty years, *viz.* from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus (three brothers who succeeded one another) with a sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysius's, Timolean, and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars, of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians, at the time that they began to be engaged in a war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from cape Pachinum [u] to Pelorum [x]. The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messana. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from cape Pelorum to cape Pilybæum [y]. The most noted cities on this coast are Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camerina. This island is separated from

[u] Passaro. [x] Il Faro. [y] Cape Boco.

Italy

Italy by a ſtrait, which is about a mile and a half over, and called the Faro or ſtrait of Meſſina. [z] The paſſage from Lilybæum to Africa is but 1500 furlongs, that is, about ſeventy-five leagues.

[a] The period in which the Carthaginians firſt carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known. All we are certain of is, that they were already poſſeſſed of ſome part of it, at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans; the ſame year that the kings were expelled, and conſuls appointed in their room, *viz.* twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the firſt we find mentioned to have been made between theſe two nations, ſpeaks of Africa and Sardinia as poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions, with regard to Sicily, relate only to thoſe parts of the iſland which were ſubject to them. By this treaty it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies ſhall ſail beyond the fair Promontory *, which was very near Carthage; and that ſuch merchants, as ſhall reſort to this city for traffic, ſhall pay only certain duties as are ſettled in it [b].

It appears by the ſame treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries ſubject to them; as well as from the knowledge of what was tranſacting in them: as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, took umbrage at the riſing power of the Romans; and already harboured in their breaſts the ſecret ſeeds of the jealouſy and diffidence, that were one day to burſt out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguiſh but the ruin of one of the contending powers; ſo fierce were their mutual hatred and animoſity.

[c] Some years after the concluſion of this firſt treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes king of

[z] Strabo, l. vi. p. 267. [a] A. M. 3501. A Carth. 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503. Polyb. l. iii. p. 243, et ſeq. Edit. Gronov. [b] Idem, p. 246. [c] A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, et 22.

* The ſeaſon of this reſtraint, according to Polybius, was the unwillingneſs of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the ſouth; in order that this enterpriſing people might not hear of their fertility. Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. Edit. Gronov.

Perſia. This prince, who aimed at nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he conſidered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his enterpriſe, without the aſſiſtance of Carthage, whoſe power made it formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the deſign they entertained of ſeizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily ſnatched the favourable opportunity which now preſented itſelf for their compleating the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; whereby the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, thoſe Greeks who were ſettled in Sicily and Italy, during which Xerxes ſhould march in perſon againſt Greece itſelf.

The preparations for this war laſted three years. The land-army amounted to no leſs than three hundred thouſand men. The fleet conſiſted of two thouſand ſhips of war, and upwards of three thouſand ſmall veſſels of burden. Hamilcar, the moſt experienced captain of his age, ſailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo*, and, after refreſhing his troops, he marched againſt Hymera, a city not far diſtant from Palermo, and laid ſiege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, ſeeing himſelf very much ſtraitened, ſent to Gelon, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Syracuſe. He flew immediately to his relief, with fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. His arrival infuſed new courage into the beſieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in ſtratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been diſpatched from Selinuntum with a letter from Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry, which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own, and ſent them from his camp about the time agreed on. Theſe being admitted into the enemies camp, as coming from Selinuntum, ruſhed up Hamilcar, killed him, and ſet fire to his ſhips. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked,

* This city is called in Latin *Panormus*.

with

with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they ſaw their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; upwards of a hundred and fifty thouſand being ſlain. The reſt of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and ſo were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which three hundred Spartans*, with the ſacrifice of their lives, diſputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the ſad news was brought to Carthage, of the entire defeat of the army; conſternation, grief, and deſpair, threw the whole city into ſuch a confuſion and alarm as are not to be expreſſed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverſes of fortune, always loſt their courage, and ſunk into the oppoſite extreme. Immediately they ſent a deputation to Gelon, by which they deſired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The complete victory he had gained, ſo far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increaſed his modeſty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, upon no other condition, than their paying two thouſand† talents towards the expence of the war. He likewiſe required of them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace ſhould be depoſited, and expoſed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchaſe of a peace, that was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to their affairs, and which they hardly durſt hope for. Giſgo, the ſon of Hamilcar, purſuant to the unjuſt cuſtom of the Carthaginians, of aſcribing to the general the ill ſucceſs of a war, and making him ſuffer for

* Beſides the 300 Spartans, the Theſſians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas, in this memorable battle. Herod. l. vii. c. 202—222.

† An Attick ſilver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is 206l. 5s. conſequently 2900 talents is 412,500l.

it,

it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinuntum, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption, but the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

[d] After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, where Nicias perished with his whole fleet; the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinuntum, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. The last-mentioned people debated some time, what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians; and become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who had been invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the Suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera; and son to Gisgo, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, fired with a desire

[d] A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. Rome, 336. Ant. J. C. 412. Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171. 179—186.

of

of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the *Well of Lilybæum*, which gave its name to a city, afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinuntum. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard either to age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty-two years.

Hymera, which was next besieged by Hannibal, and likewise taken by storm, and more cruelly treated than Selinuntum, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years from its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo all kinds of ignominy and punishments, and at last murdered them on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry; to appease and satisfy his manes, by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

[f] These successes reinflamed the desire, and revived the design which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of getting possession of all Sicily. Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were equal to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were

[f] Diod. l. xiii. p. 201—203. 206—211. 216—231.

ſoon ready, and ſet out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above ſix-ſcore thouſand; and, according to Ephorus, to three hundred thouſand men. The enemy on their ſide had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracuſans had ſent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themſelves vigorouſly in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the firſt fury of the enemy. This city was prodigiouſly rich*, and ſtrongly fortified. It was ſituated, as were Hymera and Selinuntum, on that coaſt of Sicily, which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the ſiege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one ſide, he turned his whole force that way. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls; and made uſe, on this occaſion, of the rubbiſh and fragments of the tombs ſtanding round the city, which he had demoliſhed for that purpoſe. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and ſwept away a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general himſelf. The Carthaginians interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whoſe ghoſts many fancied they had

* The very ſepulchral monuments ſhowed the magnificence and luxury of this city, they being adorned with ſtatues of birds and horſes. But the wealth and boundleſs generoſity of Gelliar, one of its inhabitants, is almoſt incredible. He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: he gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair; he had built houſes in the city and the country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. Five hundred ſhipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully received, and every man ſupplied with a cloak and coat out of his wardrobe. Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles the philoſopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable ſaying concerning his fellow citizens; "That the Agrigentines ſquandered their money ſo exceſſively every day; as if they expected it could never be exhauſted; and built with ſuch ſolidity and magnificence, as if they thought they ſhould live for ever."

ſeen

ſeen ſtalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demoliſhed, prayers were ordered to be made according to the practice of Carthage; a child was ſacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a moſt inhumanly-ſuperſtitious cuſtom; and many victims were thrown into the ſea in honour of Neptune.

The beſieged who, at firſt had gained ſeveral advantages, were at laſt ſo preſſed by famine, that all hopes of relief ſeeming deſperate, they reſolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpoſe. The reader will naturally image to himſelf the grief with which the miſerable people muſt be ſeized; on their being forced to leave their houſes, rich poſſeſſions, and their country; but life was ſtill dearer to them than all theſe. Never was a more melancholy ſpectacle ſeen. To omit the reſt, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were ſeen dragging after them their helpleſs infants, in order to ſecure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the moſt grievous circumſtance was the neceſſity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and ſick, who were unable either to fly or to make the leaſt reſiſtance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the neareſt city in their way, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immenſely rich, and ſuch as might be expected from one of the moſt opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never been beſieged, nor conſequently plundered before. A numberleſs multitude of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues of all kinds were found here, the citizens having an exquiſite taſte for the polite arts. Among other curioſities was a famous bull* of Phalaris, which was ſent to Carthage.

The ſiege of Agrigentum had laſted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter-quarters

* This bull, with other ſpoils here taken, was afterwards reſtored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage in the third Punic war. Cic. l. iv. in Verrem, c. 33.

in it, to give them the neceſſary refreſhment; and left this city (after laying it entirely in ruins) in the beginning of the ſpring. He afterwards beſieged Gela, and took it, notwithſtanding the ſuccours which were brought by Dionyſius the tyrant, who had ſeized upon the government of Syracuſe. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionyſius. The articles of it were, that the Carthaginians, beſides their ancient acquiſitions in Sicily, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the country of the Sicanians*, Selinuntum, Agrigentum, and Hymera; as likewiſe that of Gelo and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reſide in their reſpective diſmantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: that the Leontines, the Meſſenians, and all the Sicilians ſhould retain their own laws, and preſerve their liberty and independence: laſtly, that the Syracuſans ſhould ſtill continue ſubject to Dionyſius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague ſtill made dreadful havoc.

Dionyſius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, in no other view but to get time to eſtabliſh his new authority, and make the neceſſary preparations for the war, which he meditated againſt them. As he was very ſenſible how formidable thoſe people were, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to enable himſelf to invade them with ſucceſs; and his deſign was wonderfully well ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The fame of this prince, the ſtrong deſire he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf, the charms of gain, and the proſpect of the rewards which he promiſed thoſe who ſhould ſhow the greateſt induſtry; invited, from all quarters, into Sicily, the moſt able artiſts and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuſe now became in a manner a common work-ſhop, in every part of which men were ſeen making ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and military engines; and in preparing all things neceſſary for building ſhips and fitting out fleets. The invention of five benches

[1] A. M. 3600. A. Carth. 442. Rome, 344. Ant. J. C. 404. Dion. l. xiv. p. 268—278.

* The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two diſtinct people.

of

of oars (or *Quinqueremes*) was at that time very recent, for, till then, only three [h] had been uſed. Dionyſius animated the workmen by his preſence, and by the applauſes he gave, and the bounty which he beſtowed ſeaſonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited more ſtrongly than any other conduct, the induſtry and ardour of the workmen, [i] the moſt excellent of whom, in every art, had frequently the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracuſans together, laid his deſign before them, and repreſented the Carthaginians as the profeſſed enemies to the Greeks; that they had no leſs in view than the invaſion of all Sicily; the ſubjecting all the Grecian cities; and that, in caſe their progreſs was not checked, the Syracuſans themſelves would ſoon be attacked; that the reaſon why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterpriſe, and continue inactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them; which (he obſerved) was a favourable opportunity for the Syracuſans. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuſe, yet the hatred the people in queſtion bore to the Carthaginians, prevailed over all other conſiderations; and every one, guided more by the views of an intereſted policy, than by the dictates of juſtice, received the ſpeech with applauſe. Upon this, without the leaſt complaint made of treaties violated, or making a declaration of war, Dionyſius gave up to the fury of the populace, the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them reſided at that time in Syracuſe, and traded there on the faith of treaties. But now the common people ran to their houſes, plundered their effects, and pretended they were ſufficiently authoriſed to exerciſe every ignominy, and inflict every kind of puniſhment on them; for the cruelties they had exerciſed againſt the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of Si-

[h] Triremes. [i] *Honos alit artes.*

cily.

cily. This was the bloody ſignal of the war which was declared againſt them. Dionyſius having thus begun to do himſelf juſtice (in his way) ſent deputies to Carthage, to require them to reſtore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwiſe all the Carthaginians found in them ſhould be treated as enemies. This news ſpread a general alarm in Carthage, eſpecially when they reflected on the ſad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionyſius opened the campaign with the ſiege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he beſieged the town with ſo much vigour, that it was impoſſible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers ſix ſtories high to the wall (rolled upon wheels) and of an equal height with their houſes; from theſe towers, he greatly annoyed the beſieged, with furious diſcharges of volleys of arrows and ſtones ſent from his Catapultas, an engine * at that time of late invention. At laſt, the city after having made a long and vigorous defence, was taken by ſtorm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the ſword, thoſe excepted, who took ſanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the ſoldiers: and Dionyſius, leaving a ſtrong garriſon and a truſty governor in it, returned to Syracuſe.

[k] The following year Imilcon being appointed one of the Suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo †, took ſeveral cities, and recovered Motya by force of arms. Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, he advanced towards Syracuſe, with deſign to beſiege it; marching his infantry by land; whilſt his fleet, under the command of Mago, ſailed along the coaſt.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracuſans into great conſternation. Above two hundred ſhips laden with the ſpoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order,

[k] Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—295. Juſtin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

* The curious reader will find a very particular account of it in the ſecond part of the eighth volume of this work.

† Panormus.

entered

entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land-army, consisting, according to some authors, of three hundred thousand foot*, and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted, as it were, from the Syracusans, this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp; not doubting but he should soon be master of the city; considering it already as a certain prey, which could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Acradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood round the city; and among others, that of Gelon and his wife, Demarata, which was prodigiously magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting, all the splendor of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the historian[1], that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. Whilst Imilcon, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to finish his conquests, by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. Care was taken at first to inter the dead; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied,

[1] Diodorus.

* Some authors say but thirty thousand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.

and

and the ſick could have no aſſiſtance. This plague had very uncommon ſymptoms, ſuch as violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, ſo that they would fall upon any perſons that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionyſius did not loſe this favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy. Imilcon's army being more than half conquered by the plague, could make but a feeble reſiſtance. The Carthaginian ſhips were almoſt all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuſe, their old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city, to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having revenged the ſanctity of temples and tombs, which had been ſo brutally violated by theſe Barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired; when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſent to Dionyſius, for leave to carry back with him the ſmall remains of his ſhattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents *, which was all the ſpecie he had then left. Permiſſion could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon ſtole away in the night, and left the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror.

In ſuch unhappy circumſtances did the Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been ſo proud and haughty, retire from Syracuſe. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, but moſt of all that of his country, he, with the moſt inſolent fury, accuſed the gods as the ſole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy," continued he, "may indeed rejoice at our miſery, but have no reaſon to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracuſans; and are only defeated by the plague. No part, added he, of the diſaſter touches me ſo much as my ſurviving ſo many gallant men, and my being reſerved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a calamity: however, ſince I have brought

* About 61,800l. Engliſh money.

back

back the miſerable remains of an army, which have been committed to my care; I now have nothing to do, but to follow the brave ſoldiers who lie dead before Syracuſe, and ſhow my country, that I did not ſurvive them out of a fondneſs of life; but merely to preſerve the troops which had eſcaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which my more early death would have abandoned them."

Being now arrived in Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, he entered his houſe, ſhut his doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke; in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falſely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than a cowardly deſpair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not ſtop here; for the Africans, who from time immemorial had borne an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, being now exaſperated to fury, becauſe their countrymen had been left behind, and expoſed to the murdering ſword of the Syracuſans, aſſemble in the moſt frantic manner, ſound the alarm, take up arms, and after ſeizing upon Tunis, marched directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thouſand men. The citizens now gave themſelves up for loſt. This new incident was conſidered by them as the ſad effect of the wrath of the gods, which purſued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, eſpecially in all public calamities, carried their ſuperſtition to the greateſt exceſs, their firſt care was to appeaſe the offended gods. Ceres and Proſerpine were deities, who, till that time had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them, in the plundering of their temples, magnificent ſtatues were erected to their honour; prieſts were ſelected from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city; ſacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any man-

ner, to appeaſe the angry goddeſſes, and to merit their favour. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a ſoul; no proviſions or military engines; no diſcipline, or ſubordination were ſeen among them: every man ſetting himſelf up for a general, or claiming an independence from the reſt. Diviſions therefore ariſing in this rabble of an army, and the famine increaſing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not diſcouraged by their late diſaſter, but continued their enterpriſes on Sicily. Mago their general, and one of the Suffetes, loſt a great battle and his life. And now the Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which accordingly was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expences of the war. They pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered; but repreſenting, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without firſt obtaining an order from their republic; they obtained ſo long a truce, as gave them time ſufficient for ſending to Carthage. During this interval, they raiſed and diſciplined new troops, over which Mago, ſon of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. Mago arrived in Sicily, and at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionyſius battle; in which Leptinus *, one of the generals of the latter was killed, and upwards of fourteen thouſand Syracuſans left dead on the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the poſſeſſion of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of ſome ſtrong holds; beſides a thouſand talents †, which were for defraying the expences of the war.

About this time a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or

* Juſtin. l. xx. c. 5.

* This Leptinus was brother to Dionyſius.

† About 206,000l.

ſpeak

ſpeak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of correſponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occaſioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had writ in Greek to Dionyſius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

[p] Carthage had, ſoon after, another calamity to ſtruggle with. The plague got into the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, ſeized on a ſudden the heads of the diſtempered; who ſallying, ſword in hand, out of their houſes, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to ſhake off a yoke which was ſo hateful to them; but both were ſubjected, and reduced to their allegiance. Dionyſius formed at this time an enterpriſe, in Sicily, in the ſame views, which was equally unſucceſsful. He died* ſome time after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

We have already taken notice of the firſt treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Oroſius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and conſequently about the time we are now ſpeaking of. This ſecond treaty was very near the ſame with the firſt, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expreſsly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

[p] Diod l. xv. p. 344.

* This is the Dionyſius who invited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, ſold him for a ſlave. Some philoſophers came from Greece to Syracuſe in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they ſent him home with this uſeful leſſon; That philoſophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converſe with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to paſs for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had ſent his verſes, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionyſius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raiſed to ſuch a tranſport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he ſhould die when he had overcome his betters.

After

[q] After the death of the elder Dionyſius, Syracuſe was involved in great troubles. Dionyſius the younger, who had been expelled, reſtored himſelf by force of arms, and exercifed great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by deſcent a Syracuſan. This ſeemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to ſeize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they ſent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, ſuch of the Syracuſans as loved their country beſt, had recourſe to the Corinthians, who had often aſſiſted them in their dangers; and were, of all the Grecian nations, the moſt profeſſed enemies to tyranny, and the moſt avowed and moſt generous aſſertors of liberty. Accordingly the Corinthians ſent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, and who ſignalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expence of his own family. He ſet ſail with only ten ſhips, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy ſtratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who having been informed, by Icetes, of his voyage and deſign, wanted to intercept his paſſage to Sicily.

Timoleon had ſcarce above a thouſand ſoldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he advanced boldly to the relief of Syracuſe. His ſmall army increaſed perpetually as he marched. The Syracuſans were now in a deſperate condition, and quite hopeleſs. They ſaw the Carthaginians maſters of the port; Icetes of the city; and Dionyſius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionyſius having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition in it; and eſcaped, by his aſſiſtance, to Corinth*. Timoleon had by his emiſſaries, repreſented artfully

[q] A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 408. A. Rom. 400. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 252. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plut. in Timol.

* Here he preſerved ſome reſemblance of his former tyranny, by turning ſchoolmaſter; and exerciſing a diſcipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannize over men. He had learning, and was once a ſcholar of Plato, whom he cauſed to come again into Sicily, notwithſtanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionyſius's father.

artfully to the foreign forces in Mago's army, which (by an error in the conſtitution of Carthage before taken notice of) was chiefly compoſed of ſuch, and even the greateſt part of theſe were Greeks; that it was aſtoniſhing, to ſee Greeks uſing their endeavour to make Barbarians maſters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would paſs over into Greece. For could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come ſo far, in no other view but to eſtabliſh Icetes tyrant of Syracuſe? Such diſcourſes being ſpread among Mago's ſoldiers, gave this general very great uneaſineſs; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed, that his forces were going to betray and deſert him; and upon this he ſailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and ſteered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long againſt the Corinthians; ſo that they now got entire poſſeſſion of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon him, by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people. [r] New forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was ſent to Sicily. It conſiſted of two hundred ſhips of war, beſides a thouſand tranſports; and the army amounted to upwards of ſeventy thouſand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and reſolved to attack the Corinthians firſt. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. And now, ſuch was the conſternation of Syracuſe, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thouſand Syracuſans, and four thouſand mercenaries followed him; and a thouſand of the latter deſerted upon the march, out of fear of the danger they were going to

[r] Plut. p. 248—250.

father. Philip king of Macedon meeting him in the ſtreets at Corinth, and aſking him how he came to loſe ſo conſiderable a principality, as had been left him by his father; he anſwered, That his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preſerved both himſelf and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which ſhe had raiſed his father.

encounter.

encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discouraged, but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimisa. It appeared at the first reflection an inexcusable folly to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot, and a thousand horse: but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to number, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain, full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

[a] Timoleon, at the same time that he dispatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. For he was passionately desirous of having this city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth only, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, and thereby fit only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses, but with those of Barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, "That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods."

After this Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories, to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he

[a] Plut. p. 248—250.

banished

baniſhed the thouſand ſoldiers who had deſerted him; and took no other revenge, than the commanding them to leave Syracuſe before ſun-ſet.

After this victory gained by the Corinthians, they took a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to ſue for peace.

As all appearances of ſucceſs made the Carthaginians vigorouſly exert themſelves, to raiſe powerful armies both by land and ſea, and behave with inſolence and cruelty in proſperity; in like manner their courage would ſink in unforeſeen adverſities, their hopes of new reſources vaniſh, and their groveling ſouls condeſcend to aſk quarter of the moſt inconſiderable enemy, and ſhamefully accept the hardeſt and moſt mortifying conditions. Thoſe now impoſed were, that they ſhould poſſeſs only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus*; that they ſhould give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuſe with their families and effects; and that they ſhould neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correſpondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by [t] Juſtin. Hanno, one of its moſt powerful citizens, formed a deſign of ſeizing upon the republic, by deſtroying the whole ſenate. He choſe for the execution of this bloody ſcene the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occaſion he deſigned to invite the ſenators to an entertainment, and there poiſon them all. The conſpiracy was diſcovered; but Hanno had ſuch credit, that the government did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime: the magiſtrates contented themſelves with only preventing it, by an order, which forbade, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and ſettled the expence on thoſe occaſions. Hanno ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, reſolved to employ open force, and for that purpoſe armed all the ſlaves. However he was again diſcovered; and to eſcape puniſh-

[t] Juſtin. l. xxi. c. 4.

* This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called Lycus by Diodorus and Plutarch, but this is thought a miſtake.

ment.

ment, retired, with twenty thouſand armed ſlaves, to a caſtle that was very ſtrongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken priſoner and carried to Carthage, where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broke, his life taken away in the preſence of the people, and his body, all torn with ſtripes, hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, ſhared in his puniſhment. They were all ſentenced to die, in order that not a ſingle perſon of his family might be left either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the genius and caſt of mind of the Carthaginians; ever ſevere and violent in their puniſhments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without ſhowing the leaſt regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

"I come now to the wars ſuſtained by the Carthaginians, in Africa itſelf as well as in Sicily, againſt Agathocles, which exerciſed their arms during ſeveral years.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian, of obſcure birth, and low fortune*. Supported at firſt by the power of the Carthaginians, he invaded the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and made himſelf tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds, and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a peace, which reſtored tranquillity to Sicily. But he ſoon in-

" A. M. 3683. A. Carth. 527. Rome 249. Ant. J. C. 319. Diod. l. xix. p. p. 651—656—710—712—737—743—760. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 1. 6.

* He was, according to moſt hiſtorians, the ſon of a potter, but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obſcurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raiſes an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in oppoſition to the ſlanders of Timæus. But his greateſt eulogium was the praiſe of Scipio. That illuſtrious Roman being aſked, who, in his opinion, were the moſt prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and moſt judiciouſly bold in the execution of their deſigns; anſwered, Agathocles and Dionyſius. Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. *Edit. Cronov.* However let his capacity have been ever ſo great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

fringed

fringed the articles of it, and declared war againſt the Carthaginians themſelves, who under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a ſignal victory over him*, and forced him to ſhut himſelf up in Syracuſe. The Carthaginians purſued him thither, and laid ſiege to that important city, which, if they could have taken, would have given them poſſeſſion of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whoſe forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his allies, from their abhorrence of his horrid cruelties, meditated a deſign of ſo daring, and, to all appearance, ſo impracticable a nature, that even ſucceſs could hardly gain it belief. This deſign was no leſs than to make Africa the ſeat of war, and to beſiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himſelf in Sicily, nor ſuſtain the ſiege of Syracuſe. His profound ſecrecy in the execution is as aſtoniſhing as the deſign itſelf. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no perſon whatſoever, but contented himſelf with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracuſans from the dangers that ſurrounded them. That they would be but a little incommoded with a ſhort ſiege; but that thoſe who could not bring themſelves to this reſolution, might freely depart the city. Only ſixteen hundred perſons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and proviſions ſufficient for him to make a ſtout defence. He ſet at liberty all ſlaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents† to ſupply his preſent wants, well aſſured that he ſhould find in the enemy's country whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. He therefore ſet ſail with two of his ſons, Archagatheus and Heraclides, without letting one perſon know whither he intended his courſe. All who were on board his fleet, believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder thoſe countries, or to lay waſte thoſe coaſts of Sicily which belonged to Car-

* The battle was fought near the river and city of Hymera.
† 50,000 French crowns, or 11,250l. ſterling.

thage.

thage. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure of the fleet, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he was got into Africa. There assembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country was to carry the war among their enemies: that he led them, who were inured to war and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, oppressed with the equally cruel and ignominious yoke of servitude, would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival: that the boldness of their attempt would entirely disconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates; in fine, that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applause and acclamations. One circumstance only gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun happening just as they were setting sail. In these ages even the most civilized and learned nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phænomena of nature; and used to draw from them (by their soothsayers) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the most important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change: that, therefore, happiness was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wished them, he executed, almost at the same time, a second enterprise which was more daring and hazardous than

even

even his firſt, viz. his carrying them over into Africa, and this was the burning every ſhip in his fleet. Many reaſons determined him to ſo deſperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ſhips could lie in ſafety. As the Carthaginians were maſters of the ſea, they would not have failed to poſſeſs themſelves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. In caſe he had left as many hands as were neceſſary to defend it, he would have weakened his army (which was inconſiderable at the beſt) and put it out of his power to make any advantage from this unexpected diverſion, the ſucceſs of which depended entirely on the ſwiftneſs and vigour of the execution. Laſtly, he was deſirous of putting his ſoldiers under a neceſſity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge but victory. A prodigious courage was neceſſary to work up his army to ſuch a reſolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his ſervice, and received every impreſſion he gave them. He then came ſuddenly into the aſſembly with a crown upon his head, dreſſed in a magnificent habit, and with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform ſome religious ceremony, and addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, "When we," ſays he, "left Syracuſe, and were warmly purſued by the enemy; in this fatal neceſſity I applied myſelf to Ceres and Proſerpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promiſed, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ſhips in their honour, at our firſt landing here. Aid me therefore, O ſoldiers, to diſcharge my vow; for the goddeſſes can eaſily make us amends for this ſacrifice." At the ſame time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he haſtily led the way, and flying on board his own ſhip, ſet it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the ſoldiers. The trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful ſhouts and acclamations. The fleet was ſoon conſumed. The ſoldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the propoſal made to them.

them. They all had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had a little recovered their reaſon, and ſurveying in their minds the vaſt ocean which ſeparated them from their own country, ſaw themſelves in that of the enemy without the leaſt reſource, or any means of eſcaping out of it; a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded the tranſport of joy and acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been ſo general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country, through which they marched to this place, afforded the moſt delicious and agreeable proſpect in the world. On either ſide were ſeen large meads watered by beautiful ſtreams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-ſeats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all ſorts of fruit trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which gave the eye a ſenſible pleaſure. This proſpect reanimated the ſoldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took ſword in hand, and enriched themſelves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis, which was not far diſtant from Carthage, made as little reſiſtance.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by haſty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuſe had been defeated, and their fleet loſt. The people ran in diſorder to the great ſquare of the city, whilſt the ſenate aſſembled in haſte and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preſerving the city. They had no army in readineſs to oppoſe the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of thoſe forces which might be raiſed in the country, and among the allies. It was therefore reſolved, after ſeveral different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of

the forces thus levied, amounted to forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by some family quarrels, were however joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. *Agathocles had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men. The signal was given, and an obstinate fight enfued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, (the flower of the Carthaginian forces) long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes broke their ranks; but at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell sword in hand. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things, but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which by that means was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, he returned and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. By this victory, they had an opportunity of taking a great number of strong holds, and many Africans joined the victor.

[r] This descent of Agathocles into Africa, doubtless hinted to Scipio the design of making a like attempt upon the same republic, and from the same place. Wherefore, in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprise; and to show, that frequently

[r] Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

* Agathocles wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under, on sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls (privately procured for that purpose) which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory. Diod. *ad Ann.* 3. *Olymp.* 117.

there

there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, who presses too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous, when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

[z] While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, ambassadors came to them from Tyre. They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and sending thirty of their principal citizens, by those deputies they expressed their grief, that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond; they committed their wives, children *, and old men, to the care of these deputies; when, being delivered from all inquietude, with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they had no thoughts but of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans ravaged Africa, and were before Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was twenty years before it.

At the same time this city was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded.

[z] Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

* Των τεκνων καὶ γυναικων μερος, some of their wives and children. Diod. l. xvii—xli.

rounded. The preſent unhappy ſtate of the republic was conſidered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: and it was acknowledged to be juſtly deſerved, particularly with regard to two deities, to whom the Carthaginians had been wanting with reſpect to duties preſcribed by their religion, and which had once been obſerved with great exactneſs. It was a cuſtom, (coeval with the city itſelf, in Carthage, to ſend annually to Tyre (the mother-city) the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both Tyre and Carthage. The domain, and conſequently the revenues of Carthage, having increaſed conſiderably, the portion or ſhare, on the contrary, of the god, had been leſſened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were ſeized with a ſcruple in this reſpect: they made an open and public confeſſion of their inſincerity, and ſacrilegious avarice; and to expiate their guilt, they ſent to Tyre a great number of preſents, and ſmall ſhrines of their deities, all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman ſuperſtition ſeemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no leſs uneaſineſs. Anciently, children of the beſt families in Carthage uſed to be ſacrificed to Saturn. Here they reproached themſelves with a failure of paying to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and of fraud and diſhoneſt dealings with regard to him, by their having ſubſtituted, in their ſacrifices, children of ſlaves or beggars, bought for that purpoſe, in the room of thoſe nobly born. To expiate the guilt of ſo horrid an impiety, a ſacrifice was made, to the bloody god, of two hundred children of the firſt rank; and upwards of three hundred perſons, in a ſenſe of this terrible neglect, offered themſelves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effuſion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After theſe expiations, expreſſes were diſpatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and at the ſame time to requeſt immediate ſuccours. The deputies were commanded not to men-

tion the victory of Agathocles; but ſpread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, all his forces cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and, in confirmation of this report, he ſhowed the irons of the veſſels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully ſent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuſe; the majority were for capitulating*; when a galley with thirty oars, built in haſte by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the beſieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but was beat off with loſs. He then raiſed the ſiege, and ſent five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. [a] Some time after, being returned to the ſiege, and hoping to ſurpriſe the Syracuſans, by attacking them in the night, his deſign was diſcovered; and falling alive into the enemy's hands, was put to death†. Hamilcar's head was ſent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general conſternation by ſhowing the head of this general, which manifeſted the melancholy ſituation of their affairs in Sicily.

[b] To theſe foreign enemies was joined a domeſtic one, which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in poſſeſſion of the firſt employment in Carthage. He had long meditated how to make himſelf tyrant, and attain the ſovereignty of Carthage; and

[a] Diod. p. 767—69. [b] Diod. p. 779—781. Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 7.

* And the moſt forward of all the reſt, was Attander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his abſence; who was ſo terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city ſurrendered, and expelled out of it eight thouſand inhabitants who were of a contrary opinion.

† He was cruelly tortured till he died, and ſo met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army, and therefore the votes of the ſenate (whatever they were) being, according to cuſtom, caſt into a veſſel, it was immediately cloſed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned, and had thrown up his commiſſion. JUSTIN. xxii. c. 3.

imagined,

imagined, that the preſent troubles offered him the wiſhed-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city with this ambitious view; when, being ſeconded by a ſmall number of citizens, who were the accomplices of this rebellion, and a body of foreign ſoldiers, he proclaimed himſelf tyrant; and made himſelf literally ſuch, by cutting the throats of all the citizens, whom he met with in the ſtreets. A tumult ariſing immediately in the city, it was firſt thought that the enemy had taken it by ſome treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar cauſed all this diſturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houſes diſcharged whole volleys of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. When he ſaw an army marching in order againſt him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with deſign to make a vigorous defence, and to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. They ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted; for he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed by oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs, as from a roſtrum, he harangued the people; and thought himſelf juſtly empowered to reproach them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did in an hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the croſs amidſt theſe reproaches *.

* Agathocles had won over to his intereſt a powerful

* Diod. p. 777—779—791—802. Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

* It would ſeem incredible, that any man would ſo far triumph over the pains of the croſs, as to talk with any coherence in his diſcourſe; had not Seneca aſſured us, that ſome have ſo far deſpiſed and inſulted its tortures, that they ſpit contemptuouſly upon the ſpectators. *Quidam de patibulo ſuos ſpectatores conſputerunt*, De vita beata, c. 19.

king of Cyrene, named Ophellas, whoſe ambition he had flattered with the moſt ſplendid hopes and artful inſinuations, *viz.* by ſaying, that, contenting himſelf with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But, as Agathocles did not ſcruple to commit the moſt horrid crimes, to promote his ambition and intereſt, the credulous prince had no ſooner put himſelf and his army in his power, than by the blackeſt perfidy, he was murdered by him, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and ſeveral ſtrong holds had admitted his garriſons. He ſaw the affairs of Africa in a flouriſhing condition, and therefore thought it proper to look after thoſe of Sicily; accordingly he ſailed back thither, and left his African army to the care of his ſon Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him.

On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news ſoon recalled him to Africa. His abſence had quite changed the face of things; and all his arts and endeavours were incapable of reſtoring them to their former condition. All his ſtrong holds had ſurrendered to the enemy; the Africans had deſerted him; ſome of his troops were loſt, and the remainder unable to make head againſt the Carthaginians: a circumſtance that was ſtill worſe, he had no way to tranſport them into Sicily, the enemy being maſters at ſea, and himſelf unprovided of ſhips: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the barbarians, ſince he had inſulted them in ſo outrageous a manner, by his being the firſt who had dared to make a deſcent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own ſafety.

After meeting with a variety of adventures, this baſe deſerter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his diſappointed ſoldiers, ſtole away from the dangers

gers which hung over him, and arrived at Syracuſe with very few perſons. His ſoldiers, ſeeing themſelves thus betrayed, murdered his ſons, and ſurrendered to the enemy. Himſelf died miſerably ſoon after, and ended, by a cruel death*, a life that had been polluted with the blackeſt crimes.

[h] In this period may be placed another incident related by Juſtin. The fame of Alexander's conqueſt made the Carthaginians fear, that he, very probably, might think of turning his arms towards Africa.

The diſaſtrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had ſo lately deſtroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted ſucceſſes of that prince, whoſe ambition and good fortune were boundleſs; all this juſtly alarmed the Carthaginians. To found his inclinations, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his ſervices. The king received him graciouſly, and had ſeveral conferences with him.

Hamilcar did not fail to tranſmit to his country, whatever diſcoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's deſigns. Nevertheleſs, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was conſidered as a betrayer of his country to that prince, and accordingly was put to death by a ſentence, which diſplayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

[h] Juſtin. l. xxi. c. 6.

* He was poiſoned by one Mænon whom he had unnaturally abuſed. His teeth were putrified by the violence of the poiſon, and his body tortured all over with the moſt racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandſon of Agathocles, whom he deſigned to defeat of the ſucceſſion, in favour of his other ſon Agathocles. Before his death, he reſtored the democracy to the people. It is obſervable, that Juſtin (or rather Trogus) and Diodorus diſagree in all the material parts of this tyrant's hiſtory.

[1] I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily, in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his coming into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

[2] The foresight of the Romans was very just; for Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans and accordingly sent them a fleet of six score sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the concern his superiors took in the war, which they heard was carrying on against the Romans, and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.

[3] Mago, some days after, repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans; but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. They were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And, indeed, the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressingly for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, hav-

[1] A. M. 3727. A Carth. 569. A. Rom. 471. Ant. J. C. 277. Polyb. l. iii. p. 250. Edit. Gronov.

[2] Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. [3] Ibid.

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ing married Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a son named Alexander.

He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the Strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybæum. He then laid siege to it, but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, was obliged to break up; not to mention that the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, turning his eyes back to Sicily, "[m] What a fine field of battle*," said he to those about him, "do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!" His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief public employment of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens, so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest reunited them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both: these were the Romans, who, having crushed all the enemies which had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there, to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too

[m] Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

* Θιαναπολειπομεν, ω φιλοι, Δαρχηδοιοις ϗ Ρωμανοις πολαιςραν. The Greek word is beautiful. Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. *The English language, as well as the French has no word to express the Greek term.*

commodious

ommodious for them, not to form a reſolution, of ſtabliſhing themſelves in it. They therefore eagerly natched this opportunity for croſſing into it, which auſed the rupture between them and the Carthaginins, and gave riſe to the firſt Punic war. This I ſhall reat of more at large, by relating the cauſes of that ⁄ar.

END OF VOL. I.

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